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# *The American* **FEDERATIONIST**

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LABOR'S MAGAZINE



*Sail on, O Ship of State!  
Sail on, O Union, strong and great!  
Humanity with all its fears,  
With all the hopes of future years,  
Is hanging breathless on thy fate!*

—Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

# Be a WISE SHOPPER



# The American FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor

NOVEMBER, 1952

WILLIAM GREEN, Editor

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## Right to Live

While property has been protected by an intricate structure of law, the most elemental of human rights, the right to a decent living, has been almost a stranger to our laws. For decades labor unions were prohibited by stringent laws and strikes were prosecuted as "criminal conspiracies." Material wealth has been the peculiar ward of the law. Human life, deprived even of the weapon of concerted action, has had to look out for itself.

There are those who would oblige countless thousands of women to work exhausting hours in unwholesome surroundings upon the plea that any interference with such reprehensible practices would be a deprivation of property "without due process of law"; or would rob the little children of their Heaven-born right to a happy childhood, by sapping their little bodies of strength in the miserable surroundings of a factory, again contending that if not permitted to carry on this cruel practice, their constitutional property rights are being invaded or that the much-punctured theory of "states' rights" is being strangled.

During industrial disputes where the living wage has been demanded, we have met with two types of demurrer. The first is: "This raise in wages would cut down profits and hence confiscate property." The second is: "This raise in wages would put us out of business."

The simple sense of equity is beginning to throw both demurrers out of court. In the first case you have the simple collision of human rights and property rights. And though the law commonly protects property in all it can get, simple justice denies its right to get anything-at the expense of the health and happiness of human beings. A living wage to the workers is a first lien on all industrial property.

The second demurrer is even less fit for a civilized society to entertain. The industry which cannot pay a living wage has no right to exist. It is profiteering in human blood and tears. If private enterprise cannot pay a living wage, then public enterprise will.

Frank P. Walsh, 1918.

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# THE ELECTION

THE election of General Dwight D. Eisenhower as our next President was a magnificent personal tribute to a wartime leader in whom the people had great confidence. General Eisenhower's majority was about 6,500,000 votes—the largest since Franklin D. Roosevelt's sweep in 1936.

The Roosevelt sweep of sixteen years ago gave the Democratic Party every state except Maine and Vermont. It reduced the Republican membership in the United States Senate to 17. It reduced the Republican membership in the House to 89.

The 1952 landslide for Eisenhower was quite different. In the Senate the membership of the Eighty-third Congress will be 49 Republicans and 47 Democrats. In the House the membership, as of the time we go to press, will be 220 Republicans (218 is a bare majority) and 214 Democrats, with one Independent Democrat.

The various units of organized labor tried during this campaign to make the voters familiar with the voting records of Congressmen and Senators on matters of vital importance to our country and to the individual citizen.

The rigidly regimented one-party newspapers endeavored to suppress the voting records of Senators and Congressmen, and, of course, were assisted in this by the great political propaganda magazines—*Reader's Digest*, *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Time*, *Life* and *Look*.

Organized labor can feel a sense of satisfaction in the contrast between the results of the 1936 landslide and the 1952 landslide. In 1952 many millions of voters showed that they had checked the conduct of Congressmen and Senators at Washington. In some states, like New York, Illinois and Pennsylvania, it is extremely difficult for the individual voter to split his ballot, and, besides, there is an historical tendency in those states to vote a straight ticket. Nevertheless, even in these states the vote showed an unusual effort on the part of millions of voters to protect

Congressmen and Senators who have voted in the public interest.

For labor, of course, the brightest outcome of the election was the reelection of labor's friends in the United States Senate and the victories, in spite of a landslide, of Senatorial candidates friendly to labor.

In Missouri, labor is happy about the election to the Senate of Stuart Symington.

In Montana the able and experienced Congressman, Mike Mansfield, was promoted to the United States Senate.

Congressman Henry M. Jackson, with labor's enthusiastic support, was elected to the Senate from the State of Washington.

Congressman John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts, with an excellent voting record in the public interest and friendly to labor, was elected to the Senate.

Senator William Langer, a great friend of labor and a great friend of the farmers, was reelected in North Dakota.

Congressman Albert Gore, supported by Tennessee labor, was elected to the Senate from that state.

Senator Harley M. Kilgore, a tried and true friend of all labor, was reelected in West Virginia.

Senator Chavez was reelected in New Mexico.

In Maine the Senatorial election was held on September 8, and the decisive Republican primary was held still earlier on June 16. In that primary Senator Owen Brewster was defeated by Governor Frederick G. Payne, with labor's support, and on September 8 the actual election of Payne was somewhat of a formality in that one-party state. Not only labor but all friends of good government were cheered by the elimination of Brewster.

Some Republican Senators have been elected who are not labor-haters and do not belong to the Taft wing of the Republican Party. These include John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky, Edward J. Thye of Minnesota, Dwight Griswold of Nebraska, George W. Malone of Nevada and Irving Ives of New York.

Labor still faces Republican-Dixiecrat opposition, both in the Senate and the House, and this bipartisan group, formed after the 1938 election, can command a majority of votes in each House.

A striking example of machine politics occurred in Ohio where Senator Taft's machine controls the Republican Party. Charles Taft, the Republican candidate for Governor, lost to Lausche, the Democratic candidate, by 400,000 votes. In 1950, Lausche, a Democrat, had clearly indicated his desire for the reelection of Robert Taft to the Senate. He evidently was rewarded for this by the followers of Senator Taft in this election even though it meant the defeat of Charles Taft, the brother of Senator Taft. General Eisenhower carried Ohio by almost the same margin that Charles Taft lost the state.

In Idaho an unusual event was the election of Mrs. Gracie Pfof to Congress from the First District. Although General Eisenhower carried the state almost 2 to 1, with a majority of 86,000 out of a total of 273,000 votes, Mrs. Pfof, with labor's support, eliminated Dr. John T. Wood. He was known not only for his opposition to labor and to health insurance but also for his one-man campaign against the United Nations.

In Michigan the reelection of Governor G. Mennen Williams by a very narrow margin, in the face of a Michigan majority for Eisenhower of 325,000, was an outstanding feature of the election. Labor supported Governor Williams. He set a new record in 1950 when he became the first Democrat to be elected to the Michigan Governorship in an off year. He was first elected in 1948. He obtained his 1950 reelection and his 1952 victory by his skill in gaining supporters in Republican rural districts. He has the faculty of informing the electorate of the state about what he is doing as Governor in spite of newspaper opposition.

The election was notable for the size of the vote—59,500,000. General Eisenhower received 33,000,000 votes, the highest recorded in our history. Governor Stevenson re-



**Stuart Symington (left) defeated Senator Kem in Missouri while Mike Mansfield (right) knocked out Senator Ecton in Montana**

ceived over 26,500,000 votes, the highest vote ever received by a losing candidate, and only topped by F.D.R. in 1936 and 1940. The total vote showed the effectiveness of the various campaigns to get out the vote.

It is interesting to see what happened in some Southern states.

In 1948 only 143,000 votes were cast in South Carolina. Of this total, 102,600 went to the Dixiecrat candidate, Thurmond, who carried the state. President Truman received 34,500, while Governor Dewey received only 5,000 votes. In 1952 South Carolina cast 155,000 Republican votes and 166,000 Democratic votes. Each party's vote was greater than the combined vote in 1948.

The vote in Alabama increased from 213,000 to nearly 410,000. The vote in Florida increased from 578,000 to 935,000.

It has been customary in these one-party states to have a comparatively small vote in the final national election and to have their large vote in their primary elections.

The campaign of Governor Stevenson for President has received enthusiastic praise for his character and its character. It was a striking fact of the campaign that the newspapermen on the two campaign trains personally favored the election of Stevenson by a large majority. Stevenson's type of campaign, based on integrity and a candid discussion of the issues, brought about a revolt of reporters against their publishers.

Stevenson's handicap was not being widely known. Eisenhower was a household name and a familiar

figure. Stevenson was known to very few outside of Illinois until he was nominated.

The campaign itself produced two unusual statements which it is well for labor to remember. First, Senator Russell of Georgia declared that the Taft-Hartley Act is no good. Russell is from the South, and is the ablest spokesman for the farmers of America in the Senate. Then General Eisenhower declared that he was in favor of eliminating the union-busting portions of the Taft-Hartley Act. It was gratifying to have the General state the fact that the Taft-Hartley Act is a union-busting act. The one-party press, in particular, had been very careful to refrain from mentioning this fact.

This is a good place to take a look at General Eisenhower's campaign position.

The General promised the National Association of Letter Carriers that twice-a-day mail delivery would be restored.

Eisenhower also promised sharply cut and lower budgets. He promised tax cuts of \$10 billion, and in the early part of the campaign he promised tax cuts of \$40 billion.

Eisenhower promised the farmers to maintain the present price support law at 90 per cent of parity for two years. In the same speech in Minnesota he told the farmers that taxpayer-supported prices should be raised from 90 per cent of parity to 100 per cent of parity. He also promised the farmers the heart of the Brannan Plan—that is, taxpayer-supported prices for perishable commodities,

which make up 75 per cent of the farmers' income.

Eisenhower declared firmly that he favored more social security with wider coverage.

The General promised Western cattlemen and sheepmen that they could use government-owned land more widely to graze their cattle and sheep, and he hinted that the fee for this use of government land could be cut substantially.

Eisenhower endorsed TVA, but opposed any additional TVA projects.

Eisenhower pledged himself to sign a bill turning offshore oil over to the states.

The General pledged himself again and again to end racial discrimination in the District of Columbia.

Eisenhower also promised to visit Korea and to do everything possible to bring an early and honorable end to the war in Korea. This was a very effective political plea to those with sons at the fighting front. It was particularly effective in the Middle West. Eisenhower reinforced this plea with a declaration that "Asians should fight Asians," which made those subject to the draft and their parents feel that South Koreans or Japanese troops would be used to do the fighting in Asia, and European troops would be used to do any necessary military work in Europe.

The Eisenhower campaign was a carefully planned campaign of promising groups in different parts of the country those things which it was felt would yield votes. In a general way, the General was running on a progressive platform with anti-New Deal pledges on electric power and oil.

As President of the United States, what will General Eisenhower do about all of this?

Frankly, we do not know.

We hope that he will prove a strong leader who can carry out his campaign promises for the public welfare. On the basis of the tremendous vote which the General received, he has every opportunity to provide strong leadership to the nation. He can point to the election results to show that he owes his election to no one small group from any section of the country.

We wish him well for the good of our country and of the world in these critical times.

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# Pitfalls in Our Prosperity

By **BORIS SHISHKIN**  
*Economist, American Federation of Labor*

**N**OT only in the heat of the recent election campaign, but even in the more sober discussions of our country's policies and progress, one is likely to hear now and then the assertion that the sustained prosperity of the last twelve years has been due solely to the war and defense activities.

The truth is that, following the end of World War II, our country succeeded in escaping a disastrous postwar depression and has managed to maintain nearly full employment consistently since the end of the war. Despite widespread prophecies of dire things to come, our industry managed to reconvert from wartime to civilian production with a minimum of painful dislocation.

Although the reconversion problem was aggravated by extremely rapid demobilization of our armed forces, by 1947 peacetime production and business activity were already in full swing and unemployment was down to the average of 3.6 per cent of the total civilian labor force. This is all the more striking when we recall that, in 1939, just before the war, 17.2 per cent of all workers were jobless.

Wartime shortages of goods, plus the savings accumulated during the war, accounted for continuing heavy demand for goods and services, and not until 1949 did the country experience a moderate recession. Those who claim that it was Korea and the defense mobilization program that saved us from a "deferred" postwar depression had better take another look at the facts. At the beginning of 1950 we were already well out of the 1949 "dip." As early as February, 1950, months before the Communists' invasion of South Korea, healthy expansion of business activity was under way and recession unemployment began a steady drop.

In the two and one-half years since Korea, economic activity in the United States has been greatly spurred by defense activity. Yet it is safe

to say that in the absence of the artificial stimulants of defense mobilization and defense expenditures, our economic activity would have continued at a high level.

It is true that foreign aid provided by the United States to prevent economic collapse abroad and to strengthen the free world helped reduce the force of the recession of 1949 and keep unemployment to the minimum. For one thing, 90 per cent of our aid was in the form of goods and services turned out right here in the United States, with American producers and their workers receiving the dollars spent by the government under the European Recovery and other economic cooperation programs. Our contribution to the economic recovery and the building of the free world thus served a double purpose. It generated a supplementary volume of economic activity at home and at the same time provided the needed machinery, equipment, fertilizer and food to the countries unable to buy them.

**S**INCE the end of World War II, unemployment has averaged less than 5.5 per cent per year, or only a fraction of the prewar rate. In the last two years it has not exceeded 3.4 per cent, even on a monthly basis. Right now unemployment is at an all-time low.

We have begun to get accustomed to full employment and lasting prosperity. Some of us are taking them for granted. While many often wonder whether this prosperity can last indefinitely, few take the trouble to ask: What are the elements in our present economic structure which might threaten the country's economic stability in the future?

Consider first the problem of family income. To get everybody in, families as well as single individuals living alone, we will call all of them "spending units." In 1948 the median income of a spending unit in the United States was \$2840. By

1950 this average rose to \$3000 and by 1951 to \$3200. Between 1948 and 1951 this was an increase of \$360 in money income—almost 13 percent. However, because of the inflationary rise in the cost of living, this meant an increase of only 4.4 per cent in real increase. In other words, family income rose 13 per cent, but it could buy only 4.4 per cent more in goods and services because of higher prices.

Still, a rate of increase in the average real income of nearly 1½ per cent per year represented a spectacular improvement in the over-all standard of living in these three years. The important thing, though, is the way the income earned was distributed.

The table on the next page tells the story. If we group all incomes into ten parts and rank them according to size, from the highest tenth down to the lowest tenth, we get a pretty clear idea how family income is distributed.

Consider the highest tenth. In 1951 this top tenth on our income scale included families whose incomes ranged from \$6600 a year up to those of multimillionaires. Its average income was \$11,710. Note the significant fact that the top one-tenth of all families earned 31 per cent, or almost a third, of all personal income in 1951. The top fifth of all units—one-fifth of all of us—obtained 46 per cent of the entire income. The bottom fifth, by contrast, earned only 4 per cent of the total income.

Next, take the distribution of savings held by families and individuals living as independent units. This is especially important since in the last two years all savings, including personal savings, were at a pretty high rate. Savings which can be fairly readily converted into cash are called liquid assets. They include all types of U.S. government bonds, checking accounts, savings accounts in banks, loan associations and credit unions as well as postal savings. The top



### Distribution of Income of Spending Units in 1951 and Distribution of Their Liquid Assets in 1952

Rank by Size of Income	Average Income Before Taxes 1951	Percent of Income Before Taxes 1951	Percent of Income After Federal Income Tax (Disposable Income) 1951	Percent of Liquid Assets Held by Each Tenth of the Nation's Spending Units When Ranked by Size of Income—1952*
Highest tenth	\$11,710	31	28	39
Second tenth	5750	15	15	11
Third tenth	4790	12	13	9
Fourth tenth	4030	10	11	8
Fifth tenth	3460	9	9	7
Sixth tenth	2940	8	8	5
Seventh tenth	2410	6	7	5
Eighth tenth	1790	5	5	5
Ninth tenth	1120	3	3	5
Lowest tenth	310	1	1	6
<b>Total</b>		<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

\*Liquid assets held on Jan. 1, 1952

Source: "Federal Reserve Bulletin," Sept., 1952

fifth of all families ranked by income in 1951 held 50 per cent of all such liquid assets on January 1, 1952. The bottom fifth held only 11 per cent of them. In fact, the whole bottom half of families ranked by income held only a quarter of all family liquid assets.

Remember that we are now talking about the distribution of the total accumulated savings of families and single individuals, and not about the amount of money they saved during the year. The majority of the people in the lower income groups were saving very little or nothing, while many were going into debt. Remember also that on January 1, 1952, almost a third of all spending units, 31 per cent to be exact, had no savings or other liquid assets whatsoever to fall back on in case of need. An additional 30 per cent held assets worth less than \$500. All told, 61 per cent of all families, or nearly two out of every three, had either no ready assets saved up or had less than \$500 to tide them over.

It is important to understand these figures and to keep them well in mind in testing the soundness of the foundation on which our prosperity rests. Our industries and businesses are increasingly geared to mass production and mass distribution. When we see that half of all families, the half with lower incomes, earns only 24 per cent of the entire disposable income,

while the upper half earns 76 per cent, as seen from the table, we realize that mass consumption must be greatly expanded in order to sustain our production potential and to bring within reach of millions of American families the benefits of modern technology and of the adequate, up-to-date living standard.

When we see how slim are the accumulated savings of most families, we realize how urgent it is to broaden this narrow margin of economic security and to reinforce it with strong safeguards against economic hazards of unemployment, old age, illness and other distress.

Evidence presented before the Joint Committee on the Economic Report last year showed that in 1948 families with incomes of less than \$3000 represented 54 per cent of all units. Yet families with incomes under \$3000 accounted for only 31 per cent of all consumer expenditures. They bought only 27 per cent of all durable goods, including automobiles, household appliances and such.

The pattern still holds today. In 1952 some 87 per cent of families with incomes over \$5000 owned mechanical refrigerators, for example.

Yet 35 per cent of families with incomes between \$2000 and \$3000 did not own a refrigerator and 49 per cent, or nearly half, of families with incomes between \$1000 and \$2000 did not own a refrigerator.

Wage workers, in manufacturing, who enjoyed complete stability of employment and had fifty weeks of work in a year, would have a gross annual income, before taxes, averaging \$3290 at the July, 1952, level of weekly earnings. In service industries, as in laundries, for example, where gross weekly earnings averaged only \$38.93 last July, his annual income, at the very best, would be only \$1946. It is clear that a large segment of our population, including a major proportion of our wage-earners, are not sharing in the prosperity of the country and that the products of our technologically advancing production are beyond their financial reach. Their standard of living must be raised if our economy is to expand and if future prosperity is to be sustained.

Wage income must be permitted to keep up with expanding production. Failure to do so would bog us down in the greatest pitfall of our prosperity. Self-organization and collective bargaining, unfettered by crippling legal restraints, are the most effective instruments for achieving practically the necessary betterment in the workers' income. Also needed is a sharp upward adjustment in the minimum wages prescribed by law, to bring the minimum rates long obsolete up to the present-day standard of adequacy.

Positive action is also needed to drive toward removal of discrimina-



tion in employment because of color or creed. According to the United States census, in 1950 the median wage or salary income of all white workers 14 years old and over was \$2481, while the median income of all non-white workers in that year was \$1295. This means that on the average for the country the income earned by white workers was just about twice as great as that of the non-white workers.

It is all very well to argue, as some do, that the Negro workers and other non-whites perform work less skilled than do the white workers. The truth is that this great disparity in earning capacity between the white and non-white workers is proof of widespread discrimination, not only in employment opportunities but also in the opportunities for training, education and work advancement as between the white and the non-white workers.

This discrimination cannot be rooted out overnight. But it can be removed by the concerted effort of a nation dedicated to the ideal of equality of opportunity for all.

Urgent action is also necessary to strengthen our social security system. While American industrial technology

has rapidly forged ahead, programs to safeguard the security of our people have lagged far behind. Pension income of our senior workers, who have earned a retirement, is today far below the level of adequate livelihood. The social security program must be revised so that it would live up to its proclaimed purpose.

Even more pressing is the need to make more workable and effective our system of unemployment insurance. Unemployment benefits provide the most important cushion to the workers and to the whole economy in the event of curtailed production. The cushion that we now have is threadbare. Our system is a patchwork of widely different state laws and standards. Many of these laws have been revised to put the interests of the employers ahead of those of the workers these laws were intended to serve.

A complete overhaul of the unemployment insurance system is a must if we are to sustain future economic stability.

America is not headed for a depression. Yet we must recognize that even now the volume of output of consumer goods is far below the levels of possible full production. Take,

for example, the production of household goods. Earlier this year consumer buying showed a good deal of slack. In the absence of a heavier demand and fresh after their experience of overstocking their supplies in 1951, neither producers nor distributors were willing to accumulate larger stocks. As the result, output of television sets and household appliances was sharply cut down to a level below potential production last April.

Note that in the second half of 1950 and the first half of 1951, production of all household goods was running nearly 60 per cent ahead of 1947-49 levels. In the second half of 1951 and in 1952 this production dropped back to the 1947-49 level of output.

We simply cannot afford to settle down to the pre-Korea levels of production and accept them as sufficient to maintain a prosperous economy. As defense expenditures begin to decline they must be replaced and exceeded by an expanding volume of consumer buying power. This is essential not only to fill the gap, but also to carry out productive economy to a still higher level of full and prosperous activity.

## Don't Neglect the Nation's Schools

By WILLIAM E. MALONEY  
*President, International Union of Operating Engineers*

NO factor tips the scales of hope and despair for a democracy more heavily than the education of its people. Success of a system of government such as ours depends on the actions of the people. And the wisdom and forcefulness of their actions are measured by the ability to understand problems, study courses of action and make proper decisions.

Yet the hard fact is that our nation's education structure is suffering sadly from neglect. There are valid excuses for this condition, it is true. For the past twenty years we have gone from one crisis to another. In the Thirties it was a bitter depression. Then came World War II and, more recently, we have been burdened with the cold war and the necessity for another great defense build-up.

Excuses, however, do not lessen

the seriousness of our education problem. Nor will they be of any help to the future boys and girls whose education will be short-changed as a result of the failure to plan adequately for expansion and development of educational facilities.

We must find a way. We need to spend fourteen billion dollars on construction and repair of school buildings. Ten years from now, 750,000 more teachers will be required to instruct the 8,000,000 additional children who will be in school.

At a time when the national economy is sagging under the weight of a tremendous defense program, any proposals involving major expenditures are sure to get cool receptions. However, all of us have got to decide whether we can afford the greater price which will be the cost of

neglecting our educational structure.

We must reach a verdict on the question of whether it is wiser to shove aside the school problem today and grapple with a far greater crisis ten years from now, or devise means to meet the challenge with minimum delay. Certainly those means are present in a nation with the capacities of ours.

We have a moral responsibility to provide a sound, adequate education for the youngsters who will start their careers of learning a decade from now. But we have an even deeper obligation to those of the past who helped build our nation and those future generations that will keep it great.

If we neglect and limit our educational effort, we will be depriving this democracy of its lifeblood.

# I. B. E. W. Makes Steady Gains

*'52 Proves a Banner Year for A. F. of L. Affiliate*

By DAN W. TRACY

*President, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers*

**T**HE International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers can report that 1952 has been one of the banner years in its sixty years of progress.

In spite of constant raiding by many C.I.O. and independent unions, spectacular gains have been made in all fields. Four of the biggest C.I.O. affiliates were soundly beaten in major N.L.R.B. elections, and many victories were registered in elections smaller in scope. The margins of victory in some of these elections were so convincing as to eliminate any doubt that the workers in the electrical industry want the kind of stable, progressive unionism which the A. F. of L.'s International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers provides.

I think the results demonstrate that these workers can no longer be impressed by the irresponsible, high-pressure tactics and the unfilled promises which characterize the organizing efforts of the C.I.O. and the left-wing independents.

Whatever the unsupported claims made by the C.I.O. and the independents, the cold fact is that the I.B.E.W. is steadily increasing its coverage in the electrical industry while the rival organizations are declining in membership and influence.

I doubt that any other A. F. of L. affiliate has been subjected to so many raids from so many directions. During the recent past we have contested with the United Steel Workers of America, the International Union of Electrical Workers, the Utility Workers Union of America, the Communication Workers of America, the National Association of Broadcast Engineers and Technicians and the United Railroad Workers. In addition to these C.I.O. unions, we have also been



MR. TRACY

opposed by the United Electrical Workers and the American Communications Association, both extreme left-wing outfits. The net result of all of these contests shows a substantial gain in membership and prestige for the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

In elections involving thousands of workers, the I.B.E.W. defeated the Utility Workers Union of America (C.I.O.) on the properties of the Pacific Gas and Electric Company, in California; the Communication Workers of America at the giant Kearny plant of the Western Electric Company, in New Jersey; and the I.U.E.-C.I.O. in elections involving the employees of Radio Corporation of America and also Stewart-Warner Company.

The victory over the C.W.A. at Western Electric's Kearny plant dem-

onstrated conclusively that the I.B.E.W. can defeat C.I.O. unions in the mass-production manufacturing field. There were 9,364 votes cast in this election (94 per cent of those eligible), and 6,221 of these votes were for I.B.E.W. representation.

Further indication of the trend toward solid, substantial American Federation of Labor representation is shown by the Brotherhood's victories over N.A.B.E.T., covering the Columbia Broadcasting Company, and the U.E. Farm Equipment Workers in the International Harvester Company.

In cooperating with other A. F. of L. unions, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers organized and launched the program which has brought the advantages of A. F. of L. membership to thousands of new workers in the atomic energy building projects. At the present time the American Federation of Labor represents more than four times as many workers in this important field as does the C.I.O. The I.B.E.W. won the atomic energy construction project election conducted by the N.L.R.B. and was certified to represent wiremen, linemen, cable splicers and apprentices at the Savannah River project of the Atomic Energy Commission at Aiken, South Carolina.

The Brotherhood received more than 1,100 votes, with only ten ballots being cast for "no union," a remarkable result in what has long been considered strong anti-union territory.

The I.B.E.W.'s victory climaxed nine months of continuous effort, much of which was extended in overcoming red tape in the Labor Board itself, which (Continued on Page 29)



*Ronald Reagan (left) turns over gavel to Walter Pidgeon, new president of Guild*

# THE SCREEN ACTORS SEEK TV JUSTICE

**By WALTER PIDGEON**  
*President, Screen Actors Guild, A. F. of L.*

**T**HE proudest possession of the Screen Actors Guild is its American Federation of Labor charter, which is displayed on the wall of our Board of Directors' meeting room.

As I take over the presidency of the Screen Actors Guild from one of its great leaders, Ronald Reagan, I can only thank my lucky stars that in the last decade the Guild—under the leadership of such men as Robert Montgomery, George Murphy and Ronnie Reagan—has steadily stepped up its participation in all A. F. of L. affairs. For it looks very much as if we actors may soon need united A. F. of L. support to solve some major problems facing us.

These problems for the most part stem from that great technological development—television.

We have solved amicably a family dispute over jurisdiction within our A. F. of L. international, the Associated Actors and Artistes of America.

The Screen Actors Guild jurisdiction has been confirmed over all actors in all motion pictures, whether exhibited in theaters or television or elsewhere. The new American Federation of Television and Radio Artists has jurisdiction over all performers in live television and in radio.

But we have not yet been able to convince some of the employers and the American Association of Advertising Agencies and its potent members that the televising of the same filmed advertisement over and over and over again, without any limit as to the number of times it can be shown on any particular station, works an economic hardship on the actors and announcers who appear in these filmed commercials.

Not only is this practice unfair to the actors and announcers in this type of film. It is unfair to the general public who get mighty tired of seeing those same filmed blurbs over and

over again without reasonable limitation. And in getting tired of the constantly repeated filmed advertisement, the public gets tired of the actor who appears in it, with the result that other sponsors of other products refuse to hire him for any other television commercials, either live or film. Thus the television filmed ad becomes a monster which almost automatically deprives actors of work opportunities.

It is the firm position of our union that this situation must be controlled and regulated by a fair and equitable collective bargaining contract providing reasonable restrictions on either or both the number of weeks in which a filmed commercial may be televised and the number of times it may be telecast on any station.

The multi-million-dollar advertising agencies have refused to accept this principle. For a small, minimum payment to the actor, they want the right





*Confab at headquarters is held by some of union's leaders*

to televise a commercial for an unlimited number of times, over and over again, and for periods running from thirteen to fifty-two weeks. Under the agencies' proposals, an actor could be getting only about a cent or so for each time his likeness and his performance do a selling job on the home television screens of America—each time the filmed ad is televised, the actor's chances of future employment become fewer and fewer.

In *live* television the advertising agency gets only *one* telecast of a commercial for the wage paid the actor. Rather than bow to the advertising agencies' fantastic demands for *filmed* commercials, it would be far better for actors and performers generally if *no* filmed commercials were made for television and that all television advertising be done *live*. This is particularly true because in the field of television *entertainment* films, as distinguished from the commercial blurb, we have established by signed contracts with almost all producers of such films the principle that actors are entitled to additional payments, over and above their original wages, when these entertainment films are retelevised.

Because of the complete and unyielding unreasonableness of the

agencies' position on filmed commercials, the Screen Actors Guild has just been forced to break off collective bargaining negotiations and the Guild membership is in the process of calling a strike against the agencies and the film producers who make the television film "spots."

It will be our first strike in the nineteen-year history of the Screen Actors Guild and it may be a tough one; for these colossal advertising agencies display no conception of the requirements of enlightened bargaining between management and labor. All the other branches of our A. F. of L. international—American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, Actors Equity, Chorus Equity, Screen Extras Guild, American Guild of Variety Artists, American Guild of Musical Artists—are supporting the Screen Actors Guild in this fight.

Making the situation particularly difficult is the fact that, in the final analysis, the money paid to an actor in a filmed commercial does not come out of the pockets of the advertising agency but from the principal behind him, the great advertisers such as General Electric, General Foods, General Motors, Proctor and Gamble, etc., etc. However, in this very fact may lie some of the Guild's strength in the

upcoming strike, for we cannot believe that such companies will want to have their products advertised to American workmen with filmed commercials made by scab actors.

With this in mind and if it becomes necessary, we are prepared to request all A. F. of L. unions and their members throughout the United States to notify the large advertisers that they will not purchase products advertised in television film commercials not made under union contracts with the Screen Actors Guild. Our attorneys inform us that this would be a perfectly legal type of consumer boycott. We hope, of course, that it will not become necessary and that the advertising agencies will see the light and sit down with us, engage in open-minded bargaining and work out a reasonable deal.

**T**HAT the American Federation of Labor and its millions of members have a most influential voice in such matters has just been demonstrated in the search for a solution to another problem caused by television.

For some time there has been a tendency on the part of some American motion picture producers and advertising agencies to make motion pictures abroad, particularly films

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designed especially for television. By so doing, they were able to take advantage of cheap production and low labor costs in countries where wages of technicians and actors are far below American standards.

At the instigation of our Hollywood A. F. of L. Film Council, headed by I.A.T.S.E.'s Roy M. Brewer, a resolution condemning this practice was channeled through the California Theatrical Federation, headed by S.A.G.'s Pat Somerset, and the California State Federation of Labor, headed by Thomas Pitts and C. J. (Neil) Haggerty.

The resolution came up to the recent convention of the American Federation of Labor in New York and was adopted unanimously. It protested against "runaway" film production by American advertisers, advertising agencies and film producers.

In part that resolution said:

"We deem it grossly unfair and improper for American industry to attempt to sell American products to American workers by means of advertising films that have been made in foreign countries by foreign workers for the specific purpose of avoiding the wage and living standards which make possible the purchase of their products in America."

Sometimes a resolution like that is voted and nothing seems to happen. This time something did. The Hollywood A. F. of L. Film Council followed through. One of the large advertisers which had been using television entertainment films made abroad in order to advertise its product on television in this country was the Schlitz Brewing Company. A number of films had been made abroad for Schlitz's "Playhouse of Stars," shown on CBS-TV.

Schlitz sells a lot of beer to American Federation of Labor members, so the Hollywood A. F. of L. Film Council had no hesitancy in drawing the A. F. of L. convention resolution to the attention of the Schlitz Company and its advertising agency, Lennen and Mitchell. Just the other day we received their response. It reads in part:

"For your information we are not renewing the contract with the producer of the current series who had made certain of his films outside of the U.S. and the new producers have signified their films will be done here. Our client [Schlitz] wishes me to



**William Walker (left) is a new board member. With him in the picture are Vice-Presidents John Lund (center) and Leon Ames**

express to you their understanding and sympathy with your problems, and they are making every effort to see that any films coming under their sponsorship in the future will be done in the U.S."

Thus intelligent A. F. of L. action on local, state and national levels has resulted in protecting the jobs of a number of A. F. of L. technicians and actors. The matter will be followed up with some other advertisers who are still using foreign films made at cut-rate wages to advertise American products used by millions of Ameri-

can Federation of Labor workers.

I am very glad to be able to report that the Screen Actors Guild is in a most healthy financial condition and now has a treasury, or "strike war chest," of \$634,316.

As I stated earlier in this article, the screen actors are proud to be part of the A. F. of L. In taking office as the new president of the Screen Actors Guild, I pledge that we will continue to work intelligently for the best interests of the entire A. F. of L. and, above all, the best interests of our great nation.

## People Are Working

**O**NE of the most favorable employment situations in manufacturing industries since World War II is indicated by labor turnover statistics for last September just released by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin declared a few days ago.

The number of workers laid off during the month, seven out of every 1,000 employees, was down to the postwar low for September reached in 1950 and was half the rate of a year ago, Mr. Tobin said. Hiring was at a rate of fifty-seven per 1,000 employees, a third greater than in September, 1951.

Mr. Tobin noted that factory employment in mid-September was at a postwar peak of 16,300,000. The

favorable employment picture throughout the nation was also indicated, he said, by the small number claiming unemployment insurance.

Nearly all industries reported substantially fewer layoffs this September than last, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Declines were especially marked in plants producing consumer goods, partly because slackened demand and rising inventories brought high layoff rates in most of these industries in September last year.

Hiring rates were at or near postwar peaks for the season in the fabricated metals, electrical machinery, transportation equipment, instruments, apparel, paper, petroleum and rubber products industry groups.

# The Floor Under Wages Needs Jacking Up

By BERT SEIDMAN

*Assistant Economist, American Federation of Labor*

**M**OST reactionary politicians and lobbyists for special interests are not much more likely to call for repeal of minimum wage legislation than they are to take a forthright stand against motherhood or in favor of sin. Yet many of them have worked day and night to destroy the minimum wage standards established by laws which were enacted only after years of hard struggle by organized labor.

Thanks to the untiring efforts of the American Federation of Labor and its affiliates, minimum labor standards are still on the statute books. But by various means those who are seeking to wipe out minimum labor standards have succeeded in preventing the necessary modernization of these laws and in weakening them to the point where they have lost much of their original effectiveness.

There are two basic minimum wage statutes. The one that everybody knows about, although it was not the first to be enacted, is the Fair Labor Standards Act, which is most commonly referred to as the Wage and Hour Law. Enacted in 1938, it provided for an initial minimum wage of 25 cents an hour (changed to 75 cents in 1949), a maximum workweek of 40 hours and time and one-half for work after 8 hours in a day or 40 hours in a week. It also contained a prohibition against child labor.

The other basic minimum wage law is the Walsh-Healey Public Contracts Act. This law was enacted in 1936. Its purpose was to range the government positively on the side of protection of minimum labor standards by requiring firms awarded government contracts to maintain certain minimum standards. In addition to health and safety, child labor, maximum hours and overtime provisions, it provided for the determination by the Secretary of Labor of the prevailing

minimum wage in each industry furnishing supplies or equipment to the government. Firms in these industries are required to pay the prevailing minimum wage and to meet the other requirements of the Walsh-Healey Act in order to be accepted as qualified bidders for government contracts.

As can be seen from this brief description of these laws, one major difference between them is that the Walsh-Healey Act permits the minimum wage which government contractors are required to pay to be increased as the general level of wages rises, but the minimum wage in the Wage and Hour Law remains unchanged unless it is changed by Congressional action. The minimum wage under the Walsh-Healey Act can be changed by administrative action; it requires legislation to change the minimum wage in the Wage and Hour Law.

Another important difference is that under the Wage and Hour Law there is just one minimum wage, whereas Walsh-Healey calls for the determination of a separate minimum wage in each industry.

Even at the time the Wage and Hour Law was passed, the American Federation of Labor and others who supported the legislation recognized that it was only a first step in assuring low-paid workers and their families a minimum standard of living.

As both the general level of wages and the prices which workers had to pay rose rapidly during the war and postwar period, the minimum wage established by the Wage and Hour Law became more and more out of date. Recognizing the need for raising the statutory floor under wages, the American Federation of Labor carried on an unceasing campaign to boost the minimum wage to a realistic level.

It was not until 1949 that Congress gave any real consideration to this

pressing problem. In that year, amendments were introduced to the Wage and Hour Law which, among other things, provided for an increase in the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour. The American Federation of Labor supported this step but pointed out that a minimum wage of 75 cents an hour was inadequate.

Before Congressional committees considering these amendments, A. F. of L. representatives called for a minimum wage of at least \$1 an hour. They pointed out that, owing to the sharp rise in prices during the war and postwar years, the minimum wage could buy far less in 1949 than it could when it went into effect. Yet the minimum wage was far from adequate at the time it was enacted.

They also presented statistics to Congress showing that a minimum wage of 75 cents an hour meant such low annual earnings that it would not permit even the generally accepted minimum adequate standard of living for a self-supporting woman without dependents, and fell far short of the amount necessary for a married man supporting a family.

The A. F. of L. spokesmen also made some other constructive suggestions for improving the Wage and Hour Law. One of the most important deficiencies of the Wage and Hour Law has always been that it excludes from coverage millions of workers who are in greatest need of protection. The A. F. of L. therefore urged that the coverage of the law be extended to include these workers.

Farm workers are perhaps the largest excluded group, and yet because of their low wages and exclusion from other protections, such as labor relations and social security legislation, they need the protection of the Wage and Hour Law more perhaps than any other group. The A. F. of L. urged, therefore, as a first step toward eventual inclusion of all farm workers,

that the coverage of the law be extended to workers on large-scale commercial farms. In their testimony, A. F. of L. representatives pointed out that inclusion of these workers would affect only two per cent of all farms and four per cent of farms hiring farm labor but would guarantee a minimum wage to approximately half of the 2,000,000 farm workers.

The A. F. of L. also urged that employees engaged in processing of farm products, large retail and service establishments and various types of transportation should also be covered by the law. Because the Constitution does not permit the federal government to regulate labor standards in firms whose business is confined entirely within the borders of a single state, the Wage and Hour Law could not cover all workers, but the Federation urged that the coverage of the law should be extended to all workers employed by firms whose business in any way crosses state lines.

**I**N ADDITION to calling for a realistic, up-to-date minimum wage and extension of the coverage of the law to workers excluded from its protection, the A. F. of L. also called for other improvements, particularly abolition of seasonal exemptions from the law's premium pay requirements for overtime work and tightening up of its child labor provisions.

The legislation which was finally passed, known as the Fair Labor Standards Amendment of 1949, went into effect on January 25, 1950. It raised the minimum wage to 75 cents an hour and strengthened the law in regard to child labor. Directly contrary to the A. F. of L.'s recommendation, however, the amended law excluded from the law's protection many workers who had previously been covered.

By a technical change in the definition of the word "production," certain groups of employees were excluded who were employed by manufacturing firms but not engaged in actual manufacturing operations. In addition, large numbers of retail, service, transportation and communication employees were excluded. The A. F. of L.'s recommendation for inclusion of agricultural workers was completely ignored.

There have been no changes in the Wage and Hour Law since the 1949 amendments. The deficiencies in the

law at that time still remain and, in addition, new shortcomings have developed reflecting the rapidly changing economic conditions since Korea.

Each year since the passage of the 1949 amendments the inadequacies of the law have received the careful attention of both the Executive Council in its report to the A. F. of L. convention and the convention itself. The recommendations of the Executive Council to this year's convention and the unanimous action of the convention point the way to what is needed to achieve an up-to-date and effectively enforced minimum wage law. These are the main areas where improvement is needed:

(1) A substantial upward revision of the minimum wage to reflect the inflationary rise in the cost of living and increases in productivity in the economy as a whole.

(2) Removal of the exemption of millions of workers who are now excluded from the protection of the law. In his annual report for 1950, the Secretary of Labor estimated that there were 9,000,000 workers exempt from both the minimum wage and

overtime provisions of the amended Wage and Hour Law.

(3) Repeal of the outmoded provision in the Wage and Hour Law permitting payment of sub-minimum wages to learners, apprentices and messengers. The substantial decrease in the number of applications filed by employers for permission to pay learners sub-minimum wages during the past year is a clear indication that the few employers still paying sub-minimum wages could pay the minimum wage if they were required to do so.

(4) Appropriation of sufficient funds to permit effective enforcement of the Wage and Hour Law.

If it were fully effective, the Walsh-Healey Act could be as important, or even more important, to organized labor than the Wage and Hour Law. By requiring all government contractors to pay wages at least as high as the prevailing minimum in their industry, the law could provide an effective means for eliminating the sub-minimum wages still paid by many employers.

Unfortun- (Continued on Page 29)

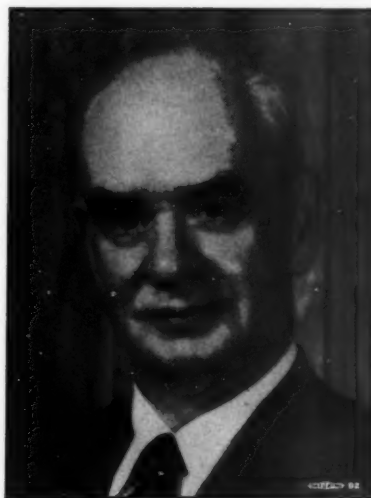
## Phil Murray of C.I.O. Dies at 66

**P**RESIDENT Philip Murray of the C.I.O. died suddenly November 9 in a San Francisco hotel room. He was 66. Death came from a coronary occlusion.

President Truman, industrial leaders and all wings of the labor movement issued statements of tribute. The American Federation of Labor said:

"We deeply regret the passing of Philip Murray. His sympathy with workers was as profound as his faith. It shaped his whole life and career. The American Federation of Labor joins with all workers in mourning the loss of an outstanding trade unionist."

From 1920 on, when John L. Lewis became president of the United Mine Workers and Philip Murray became vice-president, their careers were closely entwined. In 1935, when Lewis formed the C.I.O. and broke away from the American Federation of Labor, Murray went along with him. The following year Lewis assigned Murray the task of organizing the steel industry. He eventually became



THE LATE PHILIP MURRAY

the head of the United Steel Workers, one of the C.I.O.'s two big unions.

When Lewis endorsed Wendell Willkie in the 1940 campaign, Murray refused to go along. Later Lewis quit as president of the C.I.O. and Murray was chosen to succeed him. He was reelected regularly thereafter.





MR. HALL

# The Men of the Sea Come Out of the Dark

By PAUL HALL

Secretary-Treasurer, Atlantic and Gulf District,  
Seafarers International Union, A. F. of L.

**T**HE change that has been wrought in conditions for seamen in the fourteen years since the Seafarers International Union, Atlantic and Gulf District, was founded is little short of astonishing. When our union started out, the seamen was regarded as a second-class citizen in every sense of the word. The laws that protected others were overlooked when it came to him, and he had no organization to turn to that could protect him against the high-and-mighty ship operator.

So it was that the seaman ate pretty low on the hog in those days. He was crowded with his shipmates into small, unhealthy, badly ventilated and smoky focsles. He slept on a mattress that was stuffed with straw, the "donkey's breakfast" as the old-time sailing man called them. His food, or what passed for it, was pretty poor stuff, with the "two-pot"—"steak for the captain and stew for the crew"—prevailing.

If a man wanted to have something to put in his cup of coffee, he packed a few cans of evaporated milk in his seabag. Otherwise he drank it black. He also brought his own towels, soap and matches or did without. He ate his sorry grub out of a tin plate and drank out of a pewter mug. Clean clothes were a luxury and sanitation was poor. It's no surprise, then, that tuberculosis raged through the focsles and struck down seamen left and right.

Along with these foul conditions, the seaman worked seven days a week in all kinds of weather for \$50 to \$70 a month. And when the shipowners

wanted to pretty up their scows, there were the "field days," when all hands turned to, without pay, to swab, scrape and paint the ship.

Conditions were little better shore-side. Without home or family, the seaman usually grabbed himself a flop in a rundown waterfront boarding house. These ratty joints were run by crimps who squeezed the seaman's few bucks out of him for the privilege of letting him ship out again.

One seafarer, writing in the union's newspaper recently, gave a pretty good idea of what shipping was like to them.

"In those days," he said, "shipping was out of fink halls which usually were in dark old buildings. \* \* \* There were a few old benches, usually dusty and often covered with bed-

bugs. There was no hourly job call, so that a guy couldn't step out for a breather. \* \* \*

"By the end of the day, if you hadn't shipped, you were tired out and dirty, needing both a good bath and a soft chair to relax in."

For a man to open his mouth against conditions on board ship was to run into all the power of the skipper. At the least, it meant being booted off the ship at the next port of call. If he tried to organize ashore and protest mistreatment by crimps and shipowners, the local cops were always handy to jug him for "vagraney." The seaman was the most legislated individual in the country. Congress had passed a lot of laws about him, but they meant little to the penniless seafarer without friends or organization to turn to for help.



*These unionists have much better conditions than seamen of past. Amazing changes have taken place since union came into picture*



This was the situation the Seafarers International Union had to face when it started functioning on November 1, 1938, in three dingy rooms at 2 Stone Street in New York City. But the few hundred seamen who started the union were determined to see it grow. It's appropriate then that our union, one of the youngest in the American Federation of Labor, celebrated its fourteenth anniversary with the announcement that it would award \$1500 annual college scholarships each year to members or children of members. Yet none of that comparative handful of men who started the union would have dreamed of scholarships, or any of the other benefits the S.I.U. has won. For that matter, \$1500 was quite a few hundred dollars more than the whole union had in its treasury.

In November of 1938 these men saw A. F. of L. organization as the only way they could keep from being crushed between two forces. On the one side were the shipowners who were out to squash the union before it even got started. On the other side was the well-heeled and powerful waterfront apparatus of the Communist Party, which had already scooped up thousands of seamen in the N.M.U.-C.I.O. as well as other maritime workers.

Under such conditions there were very few who would have been willing to risk a quarter at 50 to 1 odds that the union would survive. The fact that it did survive and grow to its present state is a tribute to the militant, aggressive and determined membership that fought a great fight against seemingly insurmountable odds to make the union what it is today.

In its very first year the union found the going pretty rough, but took it in stride. It successfully fought through several strikes, including those at the P. and O. and Eastern S.S. companies. These strikes and innumerable job actions by aroused seamen who no longer would take a pushing around from bucko skippers and shipowners served notice that the union was here to stay. At the same time, the union successfully defeated Communist attempts to shackle its growth and block its organizing progress.

No sooner had the new union achieved a footing when war broke



**John C. Hopkins (left) receives the S. I. U.'s disability benefit. Union pays \$20 a week to a member when no longer able to work**

out in Europe. In May, 1941, German subs struck at the S.I.U.-manned *Robin Moor*, sending her to the bottom. The *Robin Moor* was the first U.S. ship to be sunk by the Nazis.

This was only the first of a long line of ships to go down, carrying with them the bodies of many brave seamen. During the war the Seafarers International Union lost 1,600 men to enemy action, while thousands of others suffered from injury and exposure to cold, wind and waves before being rescued. In the first few years of the war, the toll among merchant seamen was far higher, on

a percentage basis, than all the losses of the armed forces.

After Pearl Harbor the German subs really went out to dump our unarmed and unprotected merchant ships. In the five months up to June, 1942, when convoys were organized, 154 Allied ships were sunk along the Coast and Northwest Atlantic. Even after convoying started, the sinking continued. Some S.I.U.-contracted companies lost every ship that they started with at the beginning of the war.

The most dangerous trip of all was the run to Murmansk. Hundreds of



**Sick members are not forgotten. Here representative of union in Brooklyn is distributing S. I. U.'s weekly hospital payments**

American seamen lost their lives in the freezing Northern seas to deliver the supplies which the Soviet armies used to beat back the Germans. With every ship carrying TNT in her holds, a sub or plane strike would blow her to bits with the men aboard her. The most famous convoy of all was PQ 17, the "Fourth of July" convoy in 1942. Eighteen out of the thirty ships in the group were lost, many of them ships crewed by the S.I.U.

Despite the risk, the S.I.U. experienced no trouble in manning its ships. While U-boats were dumping ships off Atlantic City, the union hall at 2 Stone Street in New York was crowded with men answering the hourly job calls. During the war attempts were made by some government officials to have maritime hiring placed under a government agency. These attempts were eagerly seconded by Communist-dominated waterfront outfits which were ready to ditch labor's rights, with their policy of all-out aid to Russia. It was the S.I.U. that balked this move, which might have meant the end of the precious hiring hall right, by manning all the ships it was called on to crew. The S.I.U. proved that a free trade union could meet the challenge of war without a government take-over.

Similarly, it was the S.I.U. that fought and won the combat zone bonus beef, assuring seamen combat pay when they got into the areas where subs infested the seas and enemy planes were thick overhead. Here, too, the S.I.U.'s determined fight for labor's rights benefited all seamen.

With the end of the war, the S.I.U. faced an entirely new set of problems. In the course of the war, the bulk of the union's original membership had been lost. The union was starting over again, with most of its members being new men who answered the call to man the ships during the war.

Then, too, the union faced two major challenges. With the war at an end, the Communist Party line did another about-face and Communist waterfront stiffs, led by Harry Bridges, opened a drive to crush A. F. of L. maritime unions, the chief stumbling-block in the way of their complete domination of American maritime. They set themselves up as a high-sounding outfit, the Com-

mittee for Maritime Unity, whose real purpose was to do a job on non-Communist waterfront unions and win control of this vital element in the American economy.

But the S.I.U. and other maritime unions met them head-on with the formation of the A. F. of L.'s Maritime Trades Department. The first test of strength came at Coos Bay in Oregon, when the C.M.U. tried to snatch the steamships that are manned by the Sailors Union of the Pacific, the West Coast branch of the Seafarers International Union. This was met with counter action in all ports by the S.I.U. and other A. F. of L. marine unions. The would-be raiders failed miserably, and shortly afterward the C.M.U. wound up in the ashcan.

The other major problem faced by the union at the war's end was an organizational one. The S.I.U. had some twenty major companies under contract, but there were many more seamen who were sailing on unorganized ships. The union opened a

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To sit in silence when we should  
protest makes cowards of men.

—Abraham Lincoln.

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vigorous organizing program which is still going strong and has brought eighty additional companies under union contract since then.

The first target of the drive was the giant Isthmian Steamship Company, a subsidiary of the multi-billion-dollar United States Steel Corporation. Isthmian had repeatedly fought off attempts by other unions to organize the fleet. But the S.I.U. hit Isthmian with more organizers in more places than the company had ever seen before. Wherever Isthmian ships stopped there was an organizer and a union representative. Company attempts to discourage organizing were fruitless and only spurred the seamen aboard their ships to go S.I.U.

As one Isthmian crew member put it at the time, when he asked the captain for Saturday overtime pay "he raised the roof. He said that his company doesn't recognize such newfangled ideas and that when Isthmian goes S.I.U. he will throw down the ladder any patrolman [S.I.U. equivalent of union delegate] who comes aboard his ship. \* \* \* So the

crew is wishing mightily for an S.I.U. election victory."

The result of the campaign was an overwhelming election victory for the S.I.U. in an N.L.R.B. election. It took several months to complete voting on the 120-ship fleet. This victory was won in the face of dual union attempts to obstruct the S.I.U. drive. And today, when the S.I.U. patrolman goes aboard an Isthmian ship to represent the crew at the payoff, as is done on all S.I.U. ships, he is welcomed as a union representative.

A second notable victory was scored in the Cities Service organizing drive. Here the union was invading the traditionally non-union tanker field. After a hard-fought campaign that lasted for years the S.I.U. won out over the combined opposition of a phony company union and a well-organized network of labor spies. The activities of these spies against the S.I.U. in this drive were the subject of a Senate committee hearing in Washington.

Along with organizing and battling Communist activities, the union never lost sight of its program of improving wages and conditions. Over the past few years, these gains have equalled those made by shore-side workers in long-established unions.

Then, too, the S.I.U. membership has long been on record for this union to aid other legitimate trade unions in their beefs. That's why the union has helped out telephone operators, garment workers, telegraphers, shipbuilding workers, teamsters, financial employees, steel workers and insurance agents.

Having achieved good conditions, job security and solid wage gains for the membership, the union has embarked on a new tack these past two years. With improved conditions, members now had homes and families with all the responsibilities and problems that come with them. Then there were others who through injury or illness were no longer able to work.

From the start the union wanted to assure its members the fullest possible protection and speediest service. Consequently it undertook to administer these programs by itself. This proved a complete success. With the union running the show, seafarers could get hospital benefits for as long as they needed them—years if neces-

ary. A death benefit of \$2500 was set up to help families of men who passed away. A maternity benefit of \$200 was started this year plus a \$25 defense bond from the union for each baby.

It's very easy to qualify for these benefits. As long as a man has been on an S.I.U. ship for one single day in the previous year, he's eligible under the plan.

In addition, the union provides a disability benefit of \$20 a week for seamen no longer able to work. This applies at any age and is good for as long as it's needed. Just a few weeks ago, the union added the scholarship program which has already been described.

Another welfare program is concerned with providing decent shore-side facilities for seamen. Many of our men live far from the ports out of which they ship. Yet they have come to these ports and stick around a while until they catch a ship. To meet this problem the union plans to build modern and comfortable union halls in all ports, with plenty of recreation facilities. This has already been done in our New York hall where a member can pass the time of day in between job calls in our recreation rooms, eat in our low-cost cafeteria and bar, equip himself in the union-operated haberdashery, and take his entertainment in the Seven Seas Room, the only union-owned and -operated night club in the United States.

The same type of rig is going up in Baltimore in a new hall under construction there. And to meet the need for decent lodging ashore, the union is planning a hotel which will spell the doom of the flops and dog-houses where seamen have had to live.

These things have been made possible by the S.I.U. policy of full membership participation. It may seem a little far-fetched to talk of this with a membership that is out to sea most of the time. But the union has licked this problem by an up-to-the-minute communication system.

Our newspaper, *The Seafarers' Log*, a 28-page tabloid-style publication, is airmailed bi-weekly to all ships at their next port of call. The scope of the paper keeps the members fully informed of all doings.

Important union policy is decided by thirty- and 60-day referendums so

as to give all a chance to vote. Regular shipboard meetings supplement the shoreside meetings of the union and often come up with valuable ideas for our union programs and policies.

As an example of how this works, we announced our new maternity benefit in the June 13 issue of *The Seafarers' Log*. A week later we had a letter from one ship's crew saying:

"We were having our regular shipboard meeting when the crew was told by the chairman that the union had established new benefits for childbirth under the Welfare Fund. There was a loud hurrah from the prospective daddies aboard the ship."

So it is through the union news-

paper and regular shipboard meetings that we have licked the problem of communications.

The union's program is not yet complete. There are still many things that can be done to assure even greater security and more protection for seafarers. Yet as one old-timer put it, at the first meeting in our new headquarters hall:

"I can remember the day not so long ago when seamen were treated like dirt; when we had to go from port to port in a boxcar because there was no such thing as transportation, and other conditions were equally bad. \* \* \*

"Brothers, all I can say is we sure have come a long way."



*Daniel J. Tobin (left) and Dave Beck at Teamsters' parley*

## Teamsters Name Beck as New President

Dave Beck was elected as the new president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters at its recent sixteenth convention, held in Los Angeles. Daniel J. Tobin, who declined to be a candidate for reelection, was named president emeritus and will be available to President Beck for advice and counsel. The new president of the Teamsters had been serving in recent years as the union's executive vice president and as president of the Western Conference of Teamsters. Governor Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois, Democratic candidate for President of the United States, and other notables addressed the convention.



# EDITORIALS *by William Green*

## *Beyond the Election*

**T**HE PEOPLE have spoken. The next President of the United States and the next Congress have been chosen. One of the most vital functions of our American democracy has been performed and one of its most vital rights exercised.

Yet even more important is the task that lies ahead of every American citizen. Vitality of the democratic process can be sustained only if citizens are responsive to the issues arising and taking the shape of specific decisions from day to day. Proclaimed principles and policies take on real meaning only when they are translated into action.

Right words may become wrong deeds, unless the goals these words describe are approached through legislative and executive action which is alert to the changing conditions and at the same time responsive to the voice and the will of those governed. None of us who cast a ballot on Election Day should feel that, having performed this duty, there is nothing else for him to do. If self-government is to have real meaning, the duties of citizenship do not end but begin with the casting of the ballot.

In just a few weeks the Eighty-third Congress will be in session. Will it act effectively to right the wrong of unjust labor legislation now on the statute books? Will it take wise and farsighted measures to assure economic stability and full employment of America's resources and its workers? Will it strengthen and bring up to date our social security laws? Will it enact a housing program responsive to the urgent needs of millions of American families? Will it carry on courageously the task of building the strength of the free world and of overcoming the Communist threat in order to extend human freedom and to preserve peace?

Whether the enactments of the next Congress prove to be responsive to the insistent needs and aspirations of the people depends on us, the citizens, the constituents. Rich and well-organized lobbies will be feverishly at work to sway the votes in favor of the special interest of each. Their influences can be overcome in favor of the broad public interest only if legislators hear from an alert and informed public.

This is equally true of the State Legislatures in which important laws are made affecting our daily lives. In the coming year the majority of State Legislatures will convene in regular sessions. They, too, must deal with restrictive and unjust labor enactments, placed on the statute books in many states in the wake of the Taft-Hartley Law. They must repair and greatly strengthen the much-weakened unemployment insurance laws. And they must develop many state programs essential for healthy growth of community life. It is the duty of every citizen to help see to it that these things are

done, and that they are done soundly, justly and well.

The coming legislative year, both in Congress and in the several states, is crucial to the future of our country. Upon the American Federation of Labor falls a special responsibility in placing before the legislators the views and the wishes of labor. Our New York convention formulated a broad and forward-looking program which the American Federation of Labor will press in committee hearings and legislative deliberations. Our standing committees are already at work on proposals dealing with labor-management relations, education, taxation, social security, housing, international relations and other vital legislative programs and policies.

Time is very short. Every trade unionist and every friend of labor must prepare now to help obtain the enactment of labor's legislative program. Every alert and responsible citizen must study our proposals, support them, speak up on their behalf. Unless they do, the reactionary interests will prevail and will gain at your expense.

## *The Atlantic Community*

**C**OOPERATIVE efforts of the nations taking part in the Mutual Security Program have shown positive results. This program has pursued a double task. One of its objectives is to bring the countries of Western Europe to the point of firm economic stability and self-reliance. The other is to bring the military defenses of these countries to the strength sufficient to repel Communist invasion. Neither of these objectives has yet been accomplished, and it was not expected that they could be in the short space of time since the Mutual Security Program was begun.

What form will the program take in the coming year? It is clear that new techniques will have to be developed to speed this task and at the same time increase the affirmative contribution of the free countries of Europe to this effort. What, then, needs to be done?

The threat to the entire effort of organizing the free world is not only military. Equally imminent and dangerous is the clear purpose of the Kremlin rulers to bring dissension and disunity into the ranks of the anti-Communist allies.

The Communist Party Congress held in Moscow early in October and Stalin's long declaration of policy goals have marked the beginning of a new phase in the Communist drive for world power. It is plain that the Kremlin is anxious to strengthen its grip over the Russian people and to consolidate its control over its satellites. To this end it has moved toward still greater subordination of the satellite economies to a single plan unified and controlled by the Kremlin. To carry this out and to overcome any danger of dissension or insubordination to dictatorial rule, the Communist Party itself



has been shaken up and streamlined in accordance with a predetermined plan.

Even more ominous is the strategy emerging from the Kremlin for the accomplishment of Moscow's imperialist designs. Once again the party line has been drastically reversed. The recent period of strict non-cooperation with heretics and dissenters outside the Communist orbit has been brought to an end. Instead, the new line calls once again for the united front and the technique of penetration, infiltration and capture of non-Communist organizations.

This move assumes further significance in the light of the Kremlin's determination to launch a new and different attack against its opponents by wooing some in order to divide and by dividing in order to conquer.

The first objective of the Kremlin's new approach is to break Great Britain away from the North Atlantic Community and from its alliance with the United States. Both the persistent economic crisis of Great Britain and the beguiling chants of the demagogues and compromisers filling Aneurin Bevan's camp have been a source of encouragement and hope to the Kremlin plotters.

Communist strategists know that the people of England are weary of belt-tightening and that their economic improvement is no quick or easy task. Britain needs food and coarse grains. The Kremlin will be willing to supply these in exchange for modern machinery and tools which British export industries can supply. They will no doubt seek to broaden the flow of trade with Britain across the Iron Curtain. They will do this in the hope of creating the conditions and the political climate in which the British people would be unwilling to continue as an effective partner in the Atlantic Community or to press forward with its program of rearmament and defense against communism.

In a different form, this same pattern can, and undoubtedly will, be applied to other countries of Western Europe. Its immediate purpose is to frustrate the progress of economic cooperation among the free nations of the Atlantic Community and to break up the community itself. Its ultimate purpose is to weaken the spirit of resistance to communism in the West, to stall rearmament and to create points of weakness easily vulnerable to Communist conquest.

This strategy must be met boldly and realistically. Whatever differences or disagreements may exist, the people of Britain and the people of America must not forfeit their kinship and their identity of interests and purpose. Not only must they stand together, but they must be willing to work together in the development of a strong and truly effective Atlantic Community. Only such a partnership with Britain and with other free nations of Europe will enable us to mount the defense against a Red invasion, and at the same time to work together with all available resources to advance the standards of work and life of the people of all free nations.

In the past our policy has been overshadowed by piecemeal considerations of the dollar deficits and the lack of trade balance of individual European countries. A broader solution must be found. Effective machinery should be devised to serve the entire Atlantic Community, to achieve currency stabilization, to pool the

needed reserves and help balance trade through special agreements.

In addition, specific measures are necessary to encourage rapid growth of production within free nations, sustained by the rising buying power of their people and assuring expanding markets for all participants.

Such a program should be developed without delay. Above all, it should be carried out as a part of a foreign policy under the leadership of a Secretary of State who knows and fully understands the motives and the methods of the Kremlin schemers and who commands the confidence and respect not only of the American people but also of those of Britain and Western Europe.

## *Financing Health Care*

**I**F THERE is any area in which the needs of the broad public are entitled to precedence over narrow private interests, it lies in the field of medical care. The maintenance of good health is a matter of vital concern to everyone. To workers, who depend for their daily livelihoods upon their physical ability to work, it is a matter of primary and basic necessity.

Whenever this subject is broached, spokesmen for organized doctors are quick to point to the strides that have been made in medical science, and proudly proclaim that American medicine is already the best in the world. There is no reason to doubt these claims—but they do not meet the real issue.

To point to the high quality of care available, at a price, to those few who can afford the best is no more than to say to that larger number who cannot: "Look at what you are missing." Improvements in the kind of care that is possible make all the more inexcusable the fact that so many are not now getting it.

As in any other economic activity, the distribution of health services is just as important, as a measure of accomplishment in relation to need, as is the capacity to produce. Rising costs create an ever-mounting barrier to wide distribution. Today those who need proper health attention the most are receiving the least of it.

Since health is conditioned by nutritive and environmental factors, the heaviest burden of illness—as repeated studies have shown—falls on those in the low income groups. Barred by costs from access to the benefits of modern medical care, they find that ill health, in turn, further undermines their earning power.

The existing patchwork of limited private prepayment plans, offered by insurance companies and medical societies, is a minor palliative, not a remedy. As experience accumulates, more and more trade unions which entered these plans in search of an answer to the health needs of their members are realizing that they do not contain the answer.

Their deficiencies have been best illustrated by their performance. These plans claim a total enrollment of almost half of the national population. Yet they cover the cost of only about 8 per cent of the total medical care expenditures of the population.

Most of these plans cover the worker himself but exclude his dependents. The extent of coverage is also limited, usually to partial payment of hospital and surgical expenses.

Yet about 80 per cent of a worker's family medical

expenses are incurred by dependents. Hospital and surgical costs constitute only about one-third of these expenses.

Thus, if he has a family, the worker covered by a plan which takes care of *all* of his own surgical and hospital expenses would still have to meet over 90 per cent of his total medical bill out of his own pocket—over and above the cost of the prepayment plan.

The run-of-the-mine partial prepayment plans available in most communities today perform *none* of the functions essential to a satisfactory health program. They offer nothing approaching *full prepayment* of medical expenses. They do not offer *comprehensive* protection and care. They make no provision for *preventive* care, to preserve good health and to check illness before it is far advanced. They offer no avenue to improvements in the *quality* of health care and medical services available to the public. There is little or no effective *consumer representation* in their administration.

A full solution to this problem, on a nationwide basis, must await the eventual enactment of national health

insurance legislation. But this does not mean that labor must, in the meanwhile, continue to take, as given, inadequate "doctors' benefit" programs developed and controlled by others.

As experience has demonstrated the glaring faults of most existing private plans, so also has it shown that sound programs can be developed and operated. In a number of cities—most recently in Philadelphia and San Francisco—A. F. of L. groups have taken the initiative in exploring and creating more satisfactory alternatives than those hitherto available.

Today several outstanding consumer-controlled, comprehensive health service programs, sponsored or supported by trade unions in cooperation with public-spirited members of the medical profession (and there are still some), testify to what can be done in this direction where the proper conditions exist.

Here, as in so many other social and economic fields, the key to progress for all lies in concerted, forward-looking action—in the local community, in collective bargaining and in the legislative field—on the part of the American trade union movement.

# Labor Advances in Florida

By FRANK ROCHE and W. E. ALLEN

*President and Secretary, Respectively, Florida Federation of Labor*

FLORIDA is blessed with a mild climate, fine beaches and many other attractions. The coastline—on the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico—extends for 1,400 miles. Renowned as the nation's winter playground, Florida is a salubrious place in which to live and work throughout the year.

Gigantic drainage and water control projects, sponsored by the state and federal governments, are reclaiming hundreds of thousands of acres of land formerly thought of little value. On this reclaimed land winter vegetables to feed the nation grow very well.

Florida supplies a very large percentage of the nation's citrus production. Great numbers of small and medium-sized processors, packers and shippers dispose of part of the output of countless groves in the citrus belt. However, the greater part of the state's citrus crop is marketed by several giant corporations and co-operatives.

Several years ago a great impetus was given the Florida citrus industry by the advent of new methods of

preparing citrus concentrates. A large labor force, skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled, is required to operate these plants. About 75 per cent of the workers in the packing houses and plants are organized under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

Florida is the largest phosphate producer in the nation. This mining industry is almost 100 per cent unionized under the jurisdiction of the International Chemical Workers Union of the American Federation of Labor. The town of Mulberry, thirty miles from Tampa, enjoys the distinction of being known as the phosphate center of the world.

The pulp and paper industry in Florida is a growing industry. There are large plants in or near Panama City, Port St. Joe, Pensacola, Jacksonville, Fernandina and Palatka. Several new mills are planned. Pine forests will supply the new mills. In selecting locations for pulp and paper mills, factors of importance are plenty of fresh water, highways, railroads and port facilities.

The sugar industry in the Southern

part of Florida affords employment for several thousand workers the year around, as the sugar cane is planted, cut and processed almost every month in the year. Several times foreign labor from the Bahamas has been brought in to help harvest the bumper crops of sugar cane. The workers in the sugar industry are represented by federal labor unions of the American Federation of Labor. The largest local is at the United States Sugar Corporation at Clewiston.

Building is one of the major sources of employment in the state of Florida. There has been a great deal of home building, with a good 90 per cent of the work being done by A. F. of L. building tradesmen.

Twelve local Building Trades Councils are active in Florida, and there is a State Building and Construction Trades Council. The State Building Trades Council meets quarterly to assist the local councils and offer advice. There are smoothly functioning state associations or councils among the Carpenters, Electrical Workers, Sheet Metal Workers, Plumbers, Bricklayers, Painters, etc.

Shipbuilding and ship repairs are carried on in Tampa, Jacksonville, Panama City and Pensacola. After World War II the yards were quiet, but Korea resulted in several million dollars' worth of work. Most of these shipyards are A. F. of L.

Florida is composed of sixty-seven counties. Many of them are small. In some counties unions are scarce, but on the whole organized labor is doing a good job. In many sections new industry has arrived and an encouraging growth of trade unionism is in progress, even in rural regions. Florida has more than 900 unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The Florida Federation of Labor was founded in Tampa in 1901. From that time to the present its history has been most varied and interesting.

At the 1950 convention of the State Federation of Labor, which was held at Pensacola, the present writers were elected to the offices of president and secretary-treasurer, the former officers declining to stand for reelection. A by-law was adopted at that convention preventing any officer of the State Federation of Labor from

holding an elective or full-time political job, and the convention instructed the legislative representatives to concentrate their efforts at the next session of the Legislature on six important objectives.

These six items were repeal of the open shop constitutional amendment, repeal of the public utility compulsory arbitration law, liberalization of workmen's compensation, liberalization of the unemployment compensation act, making primary and general election days holidays and opposition to all bills contrary to labor's interests.

That convention instructed the Executive Board to assist the central labor unions and others in forming Florida Labor's League for Political Education. Later the Executive Board, after several meetings, submitted a proposed constitution and by-laws to the central labor unions and other affiliated groups. These were ratified without much delay.

At the ensuing session of the Legislature labor was able to increase the weekly workmen's compensation payments from \$22 to \$35, increase the period of permanent total disability payments from 350 to 700

weeks and boost the weekly payments for unemployment compensation from \$15 to \$20 a week.

The major accomplishment was the liberalization of workmen's compensation. Previously the largest amount that totally disabled persons could secure was 350 weeks at \$22 a week, or a total of \$7700. Under the liberalization a party so disabled can receive \$24,500. This was the first raise in benefits since 1945.

The liberalization of unemployment compensation was the first raise since 1937. Every employer group opposed labor's efforts to obtain an increase. Abuse was heaped on the Federation's legislative group. The daily newspapers did not publish anything in our favor, of course. The labor papers were the only ones to speak up for our side.

The Florida labor movement has recently made some progress which has been gratifying. However, it is clear that many conditions remain which need to be corrected.

The trade unionists of Florida will continue to work on all fronts for a square deal for all people who toil for a living. They are entitled to a square deal. And they shall get it.

## WHY ATTACK LABOR?

By EMANUEL CELLER

Member of Congress from New York

WHEN I hear somebody on the floor of the House of Representatives speak out against labor, spouting about the "power" of labor, the "excessive demands" of labor, I know he has never known or he has forgotten the bitterness of the struggle to make ends meet.

He has never known or has forgotten what it means to have a sudden illness wipe out the savings of a family. He has never known or has forgotten what it feels like to see other children better dressed, better fed than his own. He sees only a composite, blurred picture of a mass, leaving out the heart and soul of a man laboring for himself and his family.

It was not so long ago—and the memory is still fresh with us—that practices of management—"yellow dog" contracts, the lockout, the ten-

hour day, the *ex parte* injunction—crowded labor into a corner, depriving working people of their every weapon in their efforts to advance toward a living wage.

When the National Labor Relations Act was passed during Franklin Roosevelt's administration, it was sought thereby to bring the rights of labor into closer balance with the rights and the powers so ruthlessly exercised by management. It is ridiculous to say, as is now being said, that the pendulum has swung in the other direction and that labor has become more powerful than management.

The laborer has advanced step by step, paying price upon price for the small gains he has made. Each gain has taken years to secure.

Can we in all honesty now say that the laboring man is so secure and so

"powerful" that we must write legislation to curb that power—legislation like the Taft-Hartley Act, the sole purpose of which is to restrict the laboring man's right to strike?

How many laboring men can face the prospect of old age secure in the knowledge that his savings have been sufficient to take care of his wants when he no longer can work?

Is the laboring man so "powerful" that he can request and receive of Congress a decent price control law under which he can live? And is he so "powerful" and secure that he can request and receive from Congress decent housing at a rental which he can pay? On the contrary.

You can search the records of the last Congress and you will find out how little legislation passed which indicated concern for the welfare of the working man.



# LABOR PROGRESS IN LOS ANGELES

By W. J. BASSETT

Secretary, Los Angeles Central Labor Council

**A** FEW weeks ago the Los Angeles Mailers Union staged a combination banquet, party and dance in celebration of its fiftieth anniversary. It was a big affair, with more than 1,000 in attendance, including numerous civic dignitaries, government representatives and top men in the organized labor movement of California.

One veteran member spent a long time carefully looking over the people seated at the head table—newspaper publishers, a Congressman, a member of the County Board of Supervisors, the postmaster and other community leaders, all of them intermingled with local leaders of the American Federation of Labor. He shook his head in mild disapproval.

"You know, I wouldn't be surprised but what they're right when they say organized labor is getting soft," he commented. "Look at them up there, eating, talking and laughing together. Why, I remember back where a labor leader and a boss wouldn't spit on each other, let alone eat at the same table! Why, I can remember the days—"

To the casual observer outside the labor movement, it would appear that this veteran worker had something. Here was a crowd of working men and their wives all decked out in their Sunday best, having a gay time, while the leaders of their union sat around and played footsie with the big shots. At least, it would look that way.

But the fact is that those civic leaders were invited to attend a function that organized labor considered of significance to the community, and they came because they respected the ever-mounting importance of union members and their organizations to

the variety of activities which make that community function.

Take the political leader, for instance. Why was he interested in helping the Mailers celebrate an anniversary? He came gladly because he knows that the United A. F. of L. Voters League of Los Angeles, working with other political arms of organized labor, succeeded at the last



MR. BASSETT

primary election in nominating 88 per cent of the labor-endorsed candidates for county, state and national offices. He recognized that this relatively small union of some 350 members is representative of the cohesive force that has changed Southern California, in comparatively few years, from a notorious open-shop area to an organized region of more than 625,000 trade union members.

He undoubtedly recalled the Los Angeles city election of two years ago when the American Federation of Labor really found out how potent a political agency it could be. It was a clear-cut race between the incumbent, Mayor Fletcher Bowron, and a man virtually unknown to the pub-

lic, City Engineer Lloyd Aldrich.

Organized labor, dismayed at numerous city actions aimed at scuttling the rights of workers, supported Aldrich against the combined opposition of every metropolitan newspaper, the Chamber of Commerce and the usual bevy of civic groups whipped together in a campaign of this kind. The fight was a bitter one. Labor's candidate lost. But the margin of defeat was only one per cent of the total vote cast, proving that labor packs a terrific wallop at the polls when it is aroused.

Let's take another example, the newspaper publisher. Why was he both willing and anxious to make his presence known at this celebration sponsored by a handful of union members? It could be many things.

Perhaps it was because he had an inside knowledge of the way the new Associated In-group Donors program was established. The AID plan was dreamed up some months ago as a means of enabling Los Angeles citizens to make a single contribution for distribution to a number of charitable groups and worthwhile institutions. It was planned to operate somewhat like the Community Chest, with the principal exception that it was to take in all groups, regardless of their own particular methods of soliciting funds.

One of the first steps taken was to make contact with labor leaders and obtain their active cooperation before the program was even discussed with a number of other groups in the region. It may be, then, that the newspaper publisher recognized unions and their members as a prime factor in any major project for community improvement.

These examples would indicate that

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**Labor Council's officers  
sworn-in after election**

union organizations, far from being soft and decadent, are actually developing into maturity as a major and highly respected segment of the entire population.

Organized workers in Los Angeles, particularly those most familiar with labor-management history in this city, have a keen appreciation of union expansion in strength and value to the community during the last several years.

Labor had to fight an uphill battle in Southern California from 1882 on, when Harrison Grey Otis assumed editorship of the *Los Angeles Times* and almost immediately embarked upon an unprovoked and senseless program of vituperation against the trade union movement. Those early days saw a violently anti-union conspiracy of industry and shop-owners spurred on by Otis and the *Times* to a reign of open-shop fanaticism and terrorism unparalleled anywhere in the United States.

The labor historian of the late 1800s and early 1900s will find evidence in Los Angeles of almost every type of anti-union activity that can be imagined. There were the "yellow dog" contracts, the blacklisting, the imported strikebreakers. There were the anti-picketing ordinances which put several hundred unionists in jail. There were the city police, paid by the employers to break unions. There were the private detective agencies, which provided thugs and gunmen to keep the union movement at bay. There was the wide-scale advertising for non-union workers all over the nation, advertising that glutted the

Los Angeles labor market and forced wages below the living level. And then, in an ill-conceived effort at retribution, there was the bombing of the building of the *Los Angeles Times* in 1910 by the McNamara brothers, one of whom defended his action by crying:

"When I saw the cops beating innocent women and children, I went out of my mind."

And through all those years, continuing through the 1920s and 1930s, there was the continuous, well-financed and unprincipled opposition by the Merchants and Manufacturers Association.

It was not until 1940 that the LaFollette Committee, investigating anti-union activities at the request of the Los Angeles Central Labor Council, revealed that the M. and M., supported by the omnipresent *Times*, had violated the Wagner Act by organizing 434 company unions in two years, coerced both employees and employers into anti-union activities and operated a spy system.

In 1941 the Circuit Court of Appeals ordered the Merchants and Manufacturers Association to stop its anti-labor activities. But other labor-hating groups, most of them fostered by the *Times* and the Taft-Hartley Act, have recently begun to provide headaches for Los Angeles unions. Most active are the so-called "Wage-Earners' Committee," a reactionary group that has managed to find itself charged with violation of even the pro-management Taft-Hartley Law, and "Women of the Pacific," a one-woman organization that is operated

by Mrs. Edwin Selvin with the full blessing of the *Los Angeles Times*.

Los Angeles leaders of organized labor agree that the time is ripe for another Congressional investigation of the LaFollette type. They hope to make the new Congress see it their way.

Despite the handicap of having to carry on a running fight against the best-planned and best-financed union-busting drive in history, the expansion of organized labor in Southern California has more than kept pace with the remarkable industrial growth. In the last three years union membership has jumped 25 per cent, according to the State Industrial Relations Department—from 500,000 to 625,000. Nearly all of this membership is A. F. of L. and nearly all of the reported increase has been A. F. of L., making the Southern California area one of the highest concentrations of the followers of Samuel Gompers in the whole nation. This continued gain in union membership, most of which was brought about through programs sponsored by local A. F. of L. unions and joint councils, has been responsible for an increasing awareness of union importance to the community.

For example, the Los Angeles A. F. of L. was one of the original sponsors and prime movers behind the public housing program through which Los Angeles obtained 10,000 housing units in a \$110,000,000 project authorized by the Federal Government. In obtaining City Council approval of the project in 1949, Los Angeles labor led the fight (*Continued on Page 31*)

# The 1952 A. F. of L. Convention

*A Continuation of the Chronological Report From the October Issue*

## Sixth Day

[CONTINUED]

With Vice-President David Dubinsky serving temporarily as the presiding officer, the Committee on Shorter Work Day was called upon to present its report to the convention. The chairman of this committee was Lee W. Minton, president of the Glass Bottle Blowers, and the secretary was Louis Marcianti, president of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor. The latter submitted the report. The committee recommended that the Executive Council continue to watch carefully "this entire problem of hours of work so that American labor can be prepared to reduce hours without loss of earnings when necessity demands."

"The problem of shorter hours, whether by day or by week," the committee's report said, "involves more than merely a desire to seek longer periods of rest.

"The American Federation of Labor has long and successfully championed the inherent right of American workmen to participate in leisure hours. This success has proven conclusively that shorter hours are a boon to increased productivity."

The committee's report also alluded to the role of women workers in the American economy.

"The growing work force of female workers poses a question that must soon be reckoned with," the committee said.

The report of the committee was unanimously adopted, and the committee was discharged with the thanks of the convention.

Vice-President Dubinsky was thanked for his work as presiding officer, and President Green then called upon Vice-President Herman Winter to take up the gavel temporarily.

George P. Delaney, the international representative of the American Federation of Labor, reported to the convention in some detail on the vicious attacks by labor's enemies

upon the integrity of the International Labor Organization.

"It is quite apparent," said Brother Delaney, "that behind the American employer group lie forces hostile to the basic aims of the I.L.O. and dedicated to the frustration of those aims. This becomes ever more apparent, day by day, as employer-inspired attacks upon the I.L.O. spread into new and broader channels."

Pointing out that organized labor in the United States understands that neither peace nor freedom can be established on a foundation of world poverty and unrest, Brother Delaney said:

"These attacks upon the International Labor Organization are not, therefore, remote from our own trade union interests. They are, in the final analysis, directed equally against your standards, your principles and your ideals as trade unionists and as Americans."

He called upon the delegates and their organizations to take a new and more active interest in the International Labor Organization and to give "full support" to its vital work.

The flag of Puerto Rico was presented by two delegates from the island, members of the International Longshoremen's Association, following a brief explanatory talk by Joseph P. Ryan, president of the Longshoremen. Large Puerto Rican hats, for the wives of Executive Council members, were also presented.

Vice-President Winter, as the temporary presiding officer, called for the report of the Committee on Education. The chairman of this committee was George M. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks and a member of the A. F. of L. Executive Council.

Brother Harrison announced that the secretary of the committee, Irvin R. Kuenzli of the American Federation of Teachers, would submit the report.

The first portion of the committee's report covered the section of the Executive Council's report on "The Challenge to Labor and Education in 1952." Pointing out that the new weapons of destruction are so powerful that "the ability of man to survive the scientific creations of his own



Secretary Meany (left) and President Green welcome Mutual Security Director Averell Harriman. Latter delivered an important address to New York parley



hands for destroying life is questioned," the committee said:

"Labor and education are faced with the profound responsibility of creating a world in which men may continue to live and breathe the air of freedom, a world in which families may live happily in homes free from fear, a world in which men may toil safely and securely on farms and in factories to earn their bread and build a greater nation."

Federal aid to education was endorsed by the convention on the recommendation of the Committee on Education. The action of the convention was a reaffirmation of the position taken by many previous conventions. The American Federation of Labor favors federal aid, the committee pointed out, to raise substandard levels of education and equalize educational opportunities for children and youth throughout the nation.

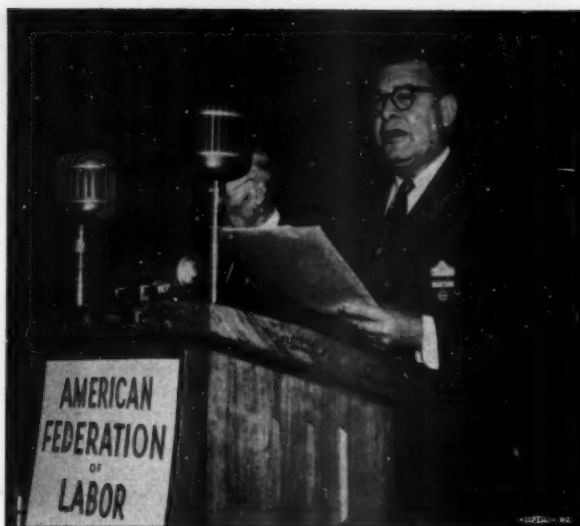
"We commend," the committee said, "the educational and legislative forces of the A. F. of L. for attempting to secure the revenues from undersea oil lands for educational purposes."

"We believe that this program should be continued and that from this source, or from other sources, federal funds should be provided for investment in the greatest wealth of the United States—the nation's children."

This section of the committee's report was approved by the delegates.

The convention, on the recommendation of the committee, backed a resolution on support of public education by general taxation. This resolution was sponsored by the American Federation of Teachers. The resolution pointed out that "powerful industrial organizations have recently proposed that public education should be supported in part by private contributions from business." The proposal was denounced by the committee, which remarked:

"A free public school system is the indispensable foundation of a successful democratic society, and any attempt to weaken or destroy the principle of free schools supported by



George M. Harrison, president of the Railway Clerks, was chairman of convention's Committee on Education

general taxation is a threat to the democratic structure of the nation. \* \* \* Labor must let it be known to all the world that the control of the public schools of the United States is not for sale to big business at any price, and that those who attempt to avoid taxation for public education through private contributions will meet the unalterable opposition of the labor movement of the nation."

Vocational education was discussed at some length in the report of the Committee on Education. A five-point program of action designed to overcome shortcomings in the field of vocational education was presented to the convention. The delegates approved this section of the committee's report.

Intelligence tests can result in the perpetration of injustices, the committee said, pointing out that "many highly specialized college professors have made low ratings on intelligence tests given to high school students." The committee recommended that the part of the Executive Council's report dealing with mental testing be referred to the Permanent Committee on Education for "further study." The convention accepted this recommendation.

The Committee on Education took up the role of the Workers' Education Bureau in the final portion of its report to the convention. Said the committee:

"Since the strength of the labor movement depends to a large extent upon the level of education of the

membership in the principles of trade unionism, we urge that the education program of the W.E.B. be expanded and its financial support increased when funds become available for this purpose.

"All affiliated local, state and national bodies are urged to cooperate with the Bureau in working out the best possible education program throughout the nation and in making use of the facilities which the Bureau has to offer at the present time."

The committee lashed attacks on the schools and hit those who would turn them against labor.

On the recommendation of the Committee on Legislation, the convention unanimously adopted a resolution dealing with the orders of the Postmaster General. A resolution sponsored by the United Textile Workers of America was also approved without a dissenting vote, as were two resolutions dealing with public printing, one introduced by the International Brotherhood of Bookbinders and the other by the International Typographical Union.

The committee also recommended approval of a resolution from the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen protesting the classification of sheep shearers as agricultural labor, and this resolution was adopted unanimously.

## Seventh Day

On Tuesday morning, September 23, the final day of the 1952 convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order by President Green. The invocation was delivered by the Rev. Dr. Allen E. Claxton of the Broadway Temple Methodist Church.

The Committee on Local and Federated Bodies presented its report. W. C. Birthright, president of the Barbers and a vice-president of the American Federation of Labor, was chairman of this committee. The secretary was James C. Quinn of New York City's Central Trades and Labor Council. All local unions were urged to affiliate with State Federations of Labor and city central bodies.

The next item of business was the

report of the Committee on Building Trades. Richard J. Gray, president of the Building and Construction Trades Department, was chairman of this committee. The secretary was James McDevitt, president of the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor. Mr. McDevitt presented the report for the committee.

The Housing Committee of the American Federation of Labor was commended for its effective work under the chairmanship of Vice-President Harry C. Bates. It was recommended that the Housing Committee consider the possibility of calling a national conference to review national housing needs, focus national attention on them and formulate an up-to-date housing program.

### McDevitt Talks

President Green called upon Director James L. McDevitt of Labor's League for Political Education. The latter reported at some length on the activities of L.L.P.E. during 1952. He appealed for "more push" in the League's dollar contribution drive, emphasizing that the money was needed now, "not when the campaign is over."

The supplemental report of the Executive Council urging members of the American Federation of Labor to vote for Adlai Stevenson on Election Day was submitted to the convention. (See October issue, Page 28.) The report was adopted.

Election of officers was the next matter before the convention. President Green, Secretary Meany and all thirteen vice-presidents were unanimously reelected.

Vice-President Daniel J. Tracy took the chair as the Resolutions Committee resumed its report. The reading of the committee's report was performed by Reuben Soderstrom, secretary of the committee.

On the question of labor unity, the Resolutions Committee presented a report which said:

"Once again we appeal to the C.I.O. to respond to the need of the hour and join with us in building a united labor movement in the United States."

The afternoon session was called to order at 2:15. Robert F. Wagner Jr., the son of former Senator Wagner, author of the Wagner Act, was introduced and delivered a short talk. He was followed by Harry Goldberg, a representative of the Free Trade Union Committee in Asia. He urged

the West to shed the remainders of its colonialism and called upon Asia to shed its neutralism.

Moh Soebagijono, of the Union of Islamic Workers of Indonesia, addressed the convention. He said:

"As Moslems we do not like communism and we will fight it."

Henry Rutz, the A. F. of L.'s representative in Germany and Austria, was introduced for an address to the convention. However, he submitted it for the printed record because of the desire of the delegates to bring the convention to a close. The address, as printed, included recommendations to retard "the anti-American trend so noticeable lately on the part of the Europeans who should be our friends."

Cyrus Ching, outgoing director of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, addressed the convention briefly. He stressed the importance of collective bargaining.

Vice-President William C. Doherty took the chair. The Committee on Legislation was called upon to conclude its report. Then the Auditing Committee submitted its report.

The vital role of the labor press was discussed by J. Scott Milne in his report to the convention as the fraternal delegate of the International Labor Press of America. Brother Milne said:

"The labor press is doing a job—our job. It deserves our best cooperation. It deserves our utmost in moral support and it deserves our financial support to the fullest extent we are able."

Before adjourning, the convention



A report on the legal situation was presented by J. Albert Woll

also received the reports of the Committees on International Labor Relations, State Organizations and Union Labels. A resolution assailing racism in the Union of South Africa was unanimously adopted, and the delegates also approved a resolution calling for a plebiscite in Trieste under United Nations supervision. The traditional presentation of watches to the fraternal delegates was made by President Green.

President Green thanked the delegates and the committee members for their contributions to the success of the convention, which he said would go down in history as "one of the outstanding conventions of the American Federation of Labor." And at 4:55 P.M. the seventy-first annual convention was adjourned sine die,

President W. C. Birthright (second from left) and his fellow delegates of the Barbers Union gave close attention to their duties throughout the convention



# The A. F. of L. in New Mexico

By JAMES A. PRICE and W. S. ROBERTS

*President and Secretary, Respectively, New Mexico State Federation of Labor*

**W**HILE the early history of organized labor in New Mexico dates back to before statehood, within the last ten years the movement has experienced the most rapid growth. There are a number of local unions chartered more than fifty years ago which are still taking an active part in New Mexico labor. Among those old A. F. of L. organizations are the Typographical Union of Albuquerque, fifty-eight years; Typographical Union of Santa Fe, fifty-one years; Carpenters of Roswell, fifty-one years; and Carpenters of Albuquerque, fifty years.

Disregarding great distances, slow transportation and poor communications, the little local unions formed in New Mexico fifty-odd years ago were ever working toward the glorious day when they could band together and present a more united front.

On December 2, 1912, the American Federation of Labor granted a certificate of affiliation to the New Mexico State Federation of Labor. This was the same year that New Mexico was admitted into the Union after many years of hard fighting to gain statehood. Organized labor had played its part in the statehood struggle as it always does for the things that are good for the majority of the people.

From 1912 to the late Thirties the old chartered organizations, together with a number of new A. F. of L. unions, grew steadily in membership and registered continuous gains in wages and conditions for the working people of New Mexico.

In the latter part of 1939, as the outbreak of World War II drew near, organized labor in New Mexico began a rapid growth. In 1942 construction of plants for the development and production of the atomic bomb, guided missiles and other secret weapons got under way. Training centers and other defense installations also had to be built. These

big projects brought many workers to the state. First came the men to build the plants and installations, next the workers in service and trades to take care of the increased populations and then the permanent additional workers for production work and maintenance of the new plants.

Union membership increased by leaps and bounds. New Mexico's mild and healthful climate attracted people from all parts of the United States, and many thousands came to work in the new plants and government defense installations.

The first contract covering the lumber and sawmill industry in New Mexico was signed in 1939 after a long strike. It brought the wages up from a low of ten cents an hour to figures comparable to the wages paid in other industries. And for the first time these workers received time and one-half for overtime work.

About that time the Building and Common Laborers were working for thirty-five and forty cents an hour. Now the minimum is \$1.50 an hour.

These are only two examples where the trade union movement lifted substandard wages to a level comparable to those paid in other organized industries.

In 1946 the Hotel and Restaurant Employes waged a successful campaign which gained the first contractual increase in wages and improvement in conditions for the workers in the hotel and restaurant fields. For the first time in New Mexico history the Hotel and Restaurant Employes had an agreement raising wages above the level of \$2 a day.

Organized labor is not new in New Mexico; what is new is its rapid expansion in the past decade. Organization of the Retail Clerks and the Butcher Workmen took place in recent years. The office employes of the Kennecott Copper Company were organized and were under contract for a number of years, but it was not

until the metal trades and the Office Employes International Union teamed up in 1950 to organize Sandia base in Albuquerque that additional progress was made by the white-collar workers. Sandia base is under the Atomic Energy Commission and operated by Western Electric. The combined efforts of the metal trades and the O.E.I.U. brought 3,000 production and maintenance workers and 800 office employes into the American Federation of Labor.

**T**HE New Mexico State Federation of Labor has an affiliated membership of more than one hundred local unions, central labor unions, statewide bodies and ladies' auxiliaries. The various state bodies include the New Mexico Building and Construction Trades Council, the State Council of Carpenters, the State Council of Lumber and Sawmill Workers, the State Alliance of Hotel and Restaurant Workers, the State Association of Barbers and the West Texas and New Mexico District Council of Laborers.

The State Council of Carpenters and the New Mexico Building and Construction Trades Council have been successful in a few years in setting up statewide wage scales and working conditions for construction workers. Other crafts have benefited from the precedent set by the building trades.

Just five years ago New Mexico labor was faced with an all-out fight for its very existence. This was brought about by the introduction and passage in the State Legislature of Amendment No. 3, known as the "Right to Work" bill or right to slave at low wages and without a contract or the protection of a union. After the Governor put his signature to this proposed constitutional amendment, the proposal was placed on the ballot for the people to decide by referendum in the 1948 election.

The "Land of Enchantment" became a battleground. Because or-



ganized labor was gradually bringing the working people of New Mexico out of peonage, employers' groups decided that the unions were too dangerous to their low-paid employees. The exploiting employers not only had this infamous bill introduced but they fought vigorously for its passage. The fight began in January of 1947 and continued until November of 1948.

An outstanding church leader of New Mexico declared the proposed law, "if it does not outlaw unionism, deals it a death blow."

"It seems to me," he added, "that it should be opposed by men of good will and peace who reverence the individual dignity of man and the spirit of the Constitution of the United States."

Statements by leading clergymen were joined by statements of attorneys, university professors, school teachers and public-minded businessmen, veterans, citizens and the press. This battle was won not by labor alone but by the united effort of all fair-minded groups. The proposed constitutional amendment was defeated by the vote of the people of our state by an overwhelming majority. Again the working people and organized labor could progress.

**F**ROM the time the State Legislature passed the infamous Amendment No. 3 till the defeat at the polls in November, 1948, the little people of New Mexico were awakened as never before to the threat of anti-labor laws and other bad legislation. Since then they have had a much stronger interest in proposed legislation.

We have many good laws in New Mexico favoring the worker and no really detrimental labor laws. The unions have been alert and have worked together for many years on legislation to protect the wage-earners. Labor's friends in the Legislature have cooperated.

The New Mexico State Federation of Labor and its affiliates have long played an important role in sponsoring and working for better laws for the citizens of the state. The favorable labor laws on the statute books reflect the work and unity of the labor movement and its friends.

Steady improvements have been made in the Workmen's Compensation and Occupational Disablement

Laws and in the State Labor Department.

Efforts in behalf of a better Labor Department have resulted in a favorable state predetermined wage scale for mechanics and laborers on public projects. Other achievements have been laws governing hours of employment for women and minors, stricter child labor laws and a state-wide Apprenticeship Council with a state director.

New Mexico labor realizes that many of the state's labor laws are outdated and in need of improvement. New laws are needed too. The lack of a state industrial safety code is glaring. Safety code proposals will be drafted and ready for the January, 1953, session of the State Legislature.

There is need for stricter laws on child labor and hours of service for women, laws governing labor-management relations and better laws to compensate workers for injuries and disablement. With the assistance of friendly legislators, labor's bills to accomplish these purposes will be introduced. By our efforts through our local and state branches of Labor's League for Political Education we are very hopeful of electing good candidates, as we have in the past, who will support our program.

During the long and hard fight to defeat the proposed constitutional amendment known as the "Slave Law," organized labor in New Mexico realized the need for a labor newspaper. For the first time in the history of New Mexico, a labor newspaper was born. With the help of individual union members, local unions and the State Federation of Labor, funds were raised and in March, 1948, labor's paper, *The Leader*, made its first appearance. Owned and published by the New Mexico State Federation of Labor, it has a statewide circulation and has become an outstanding labor publication in four years.

While the New Mexico labor movement has had the usual run of ups and downs, the percentage of workers belonging to unions is near the national average. In view of the great distances union representatives in New Mexico must travel to organize and service the union workers, this is an outstanding achievement. While New Mexico ranks forty-second in

population among the forty-eight states, it is fourth in area. The problems of distance and time in getting to and from the state's widely separated centers of population are obvious. Workers frequently must travel many miles from one job to another.

**N**EW industry has been attracted to New Mexico over the last few years. As the new enterprises develop, there will be a steady growth in population. Mining is one of the state's fastest growing industries. This is true both in metals mining and non-ferrous mining. In the potash mines in the Southeastern region much organizing has been done. Uranium mines are found in the Western part of the state. The metal mines have been organized for many years.

New Mexico labor is keeping abreast of the new developments. The State Federation of Labor, working with the local unions and the central and state bodies, presents a united front to preserve labor's gains. At the same time labor cooperates with other public-spirited groups to make New Mexico a better place to live.

In the past farming, ranching, mining and transportation have been the main industries supporting the state. The tourist trade has also contributed substantially to the business of New Mexico.

In recent years there has been increased activity in oil and gas, national defense, uranium mining, development of water resources and the service industries. This great expansion provides employment and security for large numbers of New Mexico people.

The American Federation of Labor unions in New Mexico are determined that the employees of the new industries shall have the opportunity to become members of bonafide unions. Organizing is being done all over the state. The various unions are active, and no industry or business will be overlooked in the attempt of the New Mexico labor movement to better the lot of every workman in the Land of Enchantment.

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## The Floor Under Wages

(Continued from Page 13)

ately, the Walsh-Healey program has been starved by piddling Congressional appropriations. The result has been that since the war the Department of Labor has been able to make prevailing wage determinations in only a handful of industries. Even in these industries the determinations are frequently out of date by the time they are announced, since there is a considerable lapse of time between the gathering of the data on which the determination is based and the announcement of the determination.

A program of prevailing minimum wage determinations under constant review and revision, as contemplated by the Walsh-Healey Law, could provide a powerful weapon against substandard employers, but unless the Department of Labor has the funds and personnel necessary to carry on such a program, the law can have only very limited effectiveness.

Although the Walsh-Healey program has not been fully effective, where it has operated it has served to raise sub-minimum wages to more adequate levels. For example, the eight minimum wage determinations issued during the past year ranged from 85 cents to \$1.20. This compares with the 75-cent minimum under the Wage and Hour Law. Reactionary employers trying to hold wages down to unconscionably low levels have therefore undertaken an all-out drive to gut the Walsh-Healey Act so completely that it can no longer serve any useful purpose.

Not daring to make a frontal assault on the law, they attempted to achieve their objective by securing the introduction of a rider to the Defense Production Act which would have completely emasculated the Walsh-Healey Act. This rider, introduced by Senator Fulbright of Arkansas, had three major provisions:

(1) A requirement that the Secretary of Labor make a separate prevailing minimum wage determination for each industry in each city, town, village or other civil subdivision. Assuming that the Labor Department could perform this impossible administrative task, the only result would be to force the government to award contracts to the firms paying the low-

est wages. This is because the wages of the lowest wage firm would be the "prevailing minimum" for its industry in its locality.

(2) Exemption of all government purchases of materials and equipment sold in the open market regardless of the method of procurement used by the government. This would have excluded at least 50 per cent of all government contracts.

(3) A provision placing new technical requirements on the Secretary of Labor which laid the groundwork for employers to appeal to the courts the minimum wage determinations and the regulations issued by the Secretary of Labor.

LARGELY as the result of the effective testimony which A. F. of L. representatives presented opposing these changes and the strong support they received from A. F. of L. affiliates, the first two provisions were withdrawn. The only change was that which placed new technical requirements on the Secretary of Labor and made his findings subject to appeal to the courts.

This would seem to be only a technical change which could not have much effect. Unfortunately, this has not proven to be the case. The reason is that it has greatly increased the work which the Labor Department must do to carry out its minimum wage determinations. With its already limited staff and funds, this has required the Department to limit

still further its program of determinations so that it is now quite probable that it will be able to make only two or three determinations a year. At that rate, it would be several decades before a determination could be made in all the industries in which there are government contracts.

The recent A. F. of L. convention in New York recognized the likelihood that there would be a renewed attack on the law in the forthcoming session of Congress and called upon the Federation and its affiliates to be ready to defeat any attempts that might be made to weaken the act further. The convention also insisted that the Department of Labor be given sufficient funds to administer effectively the minimum standards required by the Walsh-Healey Act.

Minimum wage legislation is an issue of first-rate importance to labor.

Our primary job is to make sure that the opponents of the Wage and Hour and Walsh-Healey Laws do not destroy labor's hard-won gains, but even while we are carrying on this defensive fight, we must also work to improve the existing legislation.

This means that these laws must establish minimum standards which put a realistic floor under wages and provide protection for those who most need it—the millions of agricultural and other low-paid workers who are today exempt. There must also be assurance of sufficient funds and staff for effective administration and enforcement of these laws. Only when these goals have been achieved will we have the necessary tools to establish by law a genuine guarantee of minimum labor standards.

## I.B.E.W. Makes Steady Gains

(Continued from Page 8)

showed some hesitation in ordering the election.

This clear-cut victory on the construction phase of the project provides a basis for making proper claim for representation when the construction work is finished and the plant is placed in operation.

While 1952 has been an extremely successful year, the I.B.E.W. looks forward to even greater gains in the year ahead. We are convinced that American workers are tired of the turmoil, confusion and unnecessary strikes which have been brought about

by inexperienced and insincere leadership in the C.I.O. and the independent unions. We know that American workers are fed up with the "party line" which is followed by the Communist-dominated groups that call themselves labor unions.

Along with the other unions in the American Federation of Labor, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers intends to continue its steady progress by talking sense to the American workmen. Our experience shows that this is the only policy that pays off in the long run.

# Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►The Electrical Workers at Lancaster, Pa., have negotiated a 12½-cent hourly boost. With this increase the new hourly rate will become \$2.62½. Raymond E. Maxwell, business agent of the local union, said the increase must be approved by the Wage Stabilization Board.

►More than 1,400 production and maintenance workers at the Goodyear Aircraft plant, Phoenix, Ariz., have won a substantial wage increase as a result of negotiations of District 49 of the Machinists with the company. The increases won for the workers range from 5 to 20 cents hourly.

►Local 105 of the Building Service Employees, Denver, received the votes of all employees of the Kittridge Building in a recent N.L.R.B. bargaining representation election.

►Local 394, Printing Specialties Workers, has won a wage increase and three paid holidays for employees of the Star Box and Printing Company, Chattanooga, Tenn.

►Local 1192 of the Laborers, Kalispell, Mont., has secured higher wage rates in negotiations with sixteen building contractors with which the local has working agreements.

►Local 1393 of the Electrical Workers, Indianapolis, Ind., has gained a 7 per cent wage general increase for members employed by the Public Service Company of Indiana.

►The Grain Millers have won higher wages for employees of the Sperry Mill, Richmond, Calif. The cost-of-living wage increase was made retroactive to last February.

►Local 278 of the Teamsters, San Francisco, has reached an agreement with five butter and egg companies which calls for pay increases.

►Bargaining rights were won by the Glove Workers in an N.L.R.B. election held recently at the Boss Manufacturing Company, Peoria, Ill.



*Senator Hubert Humphrey is congratulated at Minneapolis, after a Bricklayers' convention address, by President Harry C. Bates*

►Local 155 of the Ladies' Garment Workers has negotiated a two-year contract with the newly formed Knitted Accessories Group, Inc. An hourly wage increase of 7½ cents was secured for the 250 workers who are employed by the six shops represented by the association.

►The Garage and Automotive Employees have signed a new agreement with the Seattle Automobile Dealers Association. The pact provides a retroactive wage increase, improved vacation plans and a cost-of-living clause. Approximately 850 members are affected by the union's gains.



*Walter Freitag (left), the new president of the D. G. B., the West German Trade Union Federation, and Henry Rutz of A. F. of L.*

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▶The Glass Workers have signed a new contract with the National Association of Pressed and Blown Glassware. The contract provides a 10-cent hourly wage boost and improvements in insurance benefits, paid vacations, night-shift differentials and holidays for 7,500 workers employed in plants in Ohio, West Virginia, Pennsylvania and Indiana.

▶Locals 1493 and 1435 of the Electrical Workers have completed negotiations for a new contract with the G.E. plant in Jackson, Miss., which calls for a wage increase, a cost-of-living increase to be determined later and fringe benefits.

▶More than 1,600 production and maintenance workers at the Carbide and Chemical Company, Texas City, Texas, have won an across-the-board wage increase through negotiations conducted by the Galveston Metal Trades Council.

▶Local 484 of the Teamsters has signed a new agreement with seventy San Francisco bakeries. The contract, which covers 975 workers, calls for wage increases and other gains.

▶Pay increases and other benefits have been won by 6,000 employees of seventeen San Francisco department stores and 800 shoe and clothing salesmen in other stores under agreements negotiated by the Retail Clerks International Association with the San Francisco Retailers Council.

▶Local 292 of the Paper Workers has negotiated a fourth week of paid vacation after thirty years' employment at the Morris Paper Mills, Morris, Ill. Other gains in the agreement include improved overtime and call-time provisions and increased hospitalization benefits.

▶Local 364 of the Bakery Workers, Portland, Oreg., has signed a new agreement with the Candy Manufacturers of Oregon. A wage increase of 12 cents an hour and an improved vacation schedule are provided by the agreement.

▶Local 740 of the Glass Workers, Portland, Oreg., has secured a new health and welfare plan covering all members of the local and their families. The plan, retroactive to October 1, is entirely employer-paid.

▶Local 120 of the Teamsters, St. Paul, Minn., has signed new agreements with three department stores—Schuneman's, Golden Rule and Emporium—and with the Package Delivery Service, United Delivery Service and Retail Delivery Company. Benefits gained include a wage increase of 13 cents an hour, a health and welfare plan and a third week's vacation with pay after fifteen years.

▶Local 1309, Bus Drivers, San Diego, Calif., has negotiated a new one-year contract which provides wage increases and additional pension and welfare benefits for drivers in the San Diego Transit System.

▶Local 910 of the Operating Engineers, Chattanooga, Tenn., has gained a pay increase, improved vacation plan and other benefits in negotiations with the National Cylinder Gas Company.

▶Local 56 of the Office Employees has won a new contract for employees in the offices of unions in Phoenix, Ariz. The agreement provides an average wage increase of 15 cents an hour and includes a new vacation clause.

## Labor Progress in Los Angeles

(Continued from Page 23)

against the well-heeled real estate lobby's anxious attempts to sabotage public housing. Then, after the City Housing Authority had been established, plans drawn, some land obtained, and costs totaling \$20,000,000 piled up, the real estate operators suddenly managed to convince some of the City Council members to switch their votes and pass a resolution to stop the project before it got into construction.

Once again the American Federation of Labor joined with other civic groups in Los Angeles to fight off CASH, the "Committee Against Socialist Housing," formed by the real estate financiers in a final desperate move to wreck the program.

In its fight labor found an unexpected ally in Mayor Fletcher Bowron, the man it had opposed two years previously. The Mayor took a forthright stand in proclaiming that the city had signed a firm contract with the federal government for the slum

clearance and public housing project, a stand in which Los Angeles labor heartily concurred. The case was taken to the State Supreme Court, which ruled that the city must carry out its contract.

CASH and its captive councilmen refused to accept the verdict. A misleading, misworded proposition aimed at cancelling the program was hastily placed on the ballot for a special election, though labor and other pro-housing advocates pointed out that the effect of a vote would be nil. The election was held anyway and, as predicted, the result was ruled to have no binding effect at all on the already-existing contract.

CASH then tried to force cancellation of the program through Congressional action sponsored in both the House and Senate by anti-union, pro-real estate lobby legislators. Labor opposed the moves, and these too were defeated.

Some of the councilmen, still enam-

ored of the CASH policy, found themselves facing contempt of court charges if they failed to pass the necessary resolutions to clear the way for the project. The actions, of course, were eventually taken and labor had won its fight.

This is an example of the kind of struggle that organized labor in Los Angeles is both willing and capable of taking on, while simultaneously proceeding with its usual activities of collective bargaining, contract enforcement, strike actions, extension of organizing and so on.

And in waging such battles, labor is not becoming "too respectable." It is simply becoming *respected* for the significant role it plays in good citizenship.

Specifically to the point is this quotation from an editorial in the *Los Angeles Daily News* of October 28, 1952:

"In these modern days, the presence of labor leaders at public, representative meetings is eagerly sought and, when they attend and speak, they get a respected hearing."

Which, of course, is as it should be.

# WHAT THEY SAY

**Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary of Labor**—The Taft-Hartley Act proceeds



from the first page to the last to nullify the wonderful declaration of purposes of the Wagner Act, which did such a great deal for the economy of this country. One of the things necessary in this country is to return to the kind of law that will guarantee the right of the unorganized workers to be protected, a law that will guarantee their right to gather together in unions if they so desire. I often cite the example of the textile workers. Approximately 65 per cent of them are unorganized, despite the fact that the two major trade union organizations in this country have expended great effort and time in their attempts to organize the textile industry. There is a constantly widening margin between the wage rates and the working conditions of those who are organized in the American textile industry and those who are still unorganized. I cite this one branch of American industry because I think it is typical of the situation in many others.

**Oscar Ewing, Federal Security Administrator**—National health insurance



has been shamefully misrepresented by reactionary groups. National health insurance is not a plan to "socialize" medicine. The doctors would not work for the government, nor would the government tell them how to practice medicine. There would be no change in the relationship between patient and doctor—except for the removal of the present dollar barrier. Under the national health insurance plan, the patient would choose any doctor who is taking part in the plan. It might well be the same family doctor whom the patient has always called in

emergencies. Under national health insurance 1½ per cent of the worker's wages would be withheld and the employer would contribute a like amount, just as in old-age and survivors' insurance. These payroll taxes, paid by workers and employers across the country, would help to build up a fund out of which would be paid the doctor and hospital bills of the worker and his dependents. National health insurance would operate on the sound American principle of putting aside a portion of earnings as protection for the future. National health insurance is certainly not a plan to "socialize" medicine.

**J. Scott Milne—secretary, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers**—Our



government can continue to work and be handed down from generation to generation if the people make it work. Our government is made up of people—individual people—and it must continue to be governed by them and not by any particular or special group of people. And we've got to recapture that spirit of individual responsibility in government, and not only in government but in our dealings with our fellow citizens. All of us, as individuals, have got to treat our fellow man with respect, treat him fair and square. And each of us must individually work to maintain this government of ours the way it was founded in 1776. Let's make this country the strong, free, decent country it was meant to be. This government of ours is the servant of the people. We pay for it and we pay the salaries and we control it. If we don't live up to our responsibilities as individuals, then we are going to be run, instead of our running the government, and it won't be long until we have no liberty and we will certainly have no pursuit of happiness. There is only one answer. You and I, as individuals, are going to determine what the score will be.

**Herbert H. Lehman, U. S. Senator from New York**—There are more than



a billion people outside the Iron Curtain—in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, India, Pakistan, and South and Southeast Asia. Do we want these people to be for us or against us? They want a better life. They want more food, better shelter and protection against epidemic disease. They want dignity. They want equality. Are we going to be their friends and advocates, or shall we let the Soviet Union occupy the role of protector and spokesman of the underprivileged of the earth? Should we sit idly by and let our enemy continue to fan among these peoples flames of hate and resentment against us? Or shall we work to win the friendship, gratitude and support of these people? An expanded Point Four program and an expanded program of foreign economic aid may be expensive. It may even cost more money than we can comfortably afford. But the question is no longer: Can we afford it? The question is: Can we afford not to do it? Let us march forward to these challenging tasks. Let us help others to help themselves.

**Joseph P. McCurdy, president, United Garment Workers of America**—The American



Federation of Labor holds that the best way of uprooting every vestige of totalitarian despotism is to integrate the entire Atlantic community into a prosperous economic area. Such prosperity cannot be attained without a great volume of trade. Such a great volume of trade means, first of all, vast purchasing power by the people—especially by the people who work for their livelihood. The A. F. of L. is old-fashioned enough to cling to the conviction that only powerful, independent, free trade unions—unions which are free from all control by governments, employers and political cliques—can defend vigorously the interests of the laboring people.

# On the Job for America

"SURE, we're going to be working," Joan replied when Frank asked her if she and Beth were going to be on the job Election Day. "What are you going to be doing?"

"Jerry and I are on the Fifth Street detail to get out the vote," Frank said.

"Beth and I have Oak Avenue from Fifth to Eighth Streets," Joan told him. "Ella and Dotty have Maple Avenue between Fifth and Ninth, and I think John and Jane have Walnut Avenue for the same blocks. Who else do you know that has what?"

"Well, we have Fifth from the Circle to City Square," said Frank. "Lew and Cappy have Sixth, and Ronnie and Clarke have Fourth. Max and Hendy are to have their bikes and check on us all, I guess."

"Marie and Ruth are our riders," Joan told him. "You know, I can hardly wait. It's really wonderful to be part of America, isn't it?"

"Sure is, Joan," Frank agreed. "I never helped out on Election Day before."

"Neither did I," said Joan. "All we have to do is go to the voting places after school and one of our Central Labor Union men will tell us who hasn't voted in our territory. We're to go to their addresses and tell them not to overlook their responsibility as an American citizen to vote. We aren't to ask them to vote for any special candidate. That's up to them. We're simply to help check up and see that they get to the polls."

"That is not all we have to do," put in Marie, who had come up to join Joan and Frank.

"What else, then?" asked Frank.

"If a mother wants to vote, but can't leave the baby, for instance," Marie said, "we're to baby-sit while she's gone, or if someone can't walk so far because he's lame or old or something, we're to tell our man at the polling place and he'll see that someone gets the voter in a car. And other stuff like that."

"I wonder if boys are supposed to baby-sit, too," said Frank.

"I suppose so," Joan answered. "Babies aren't so hard to cope with."

"Yeah, maybe. But they sure can cry, too, if they get started."

"Be brave, my friend, and figure it's in the service of your country," Jerry said as he joined the others. "Remember, you were a baby once."

"Yeah, I suppose someone put up with me then," said Frank.

"Then and now," teased Marie.

Election Day was the point of interest to the whole community. There were many county and municipal offices to be filled as well as the state and national offices. Of course, for those who were actively campaigning, Election Day was the final test.

The Junior Unionists were eager for three o'clock to strike so that school would be out and they could go on duty. As they reported to their leaders they were given red, white and blue lapel buttons with "Get Out the Vote" on them. They were given several names apiece to check on, and the teams of two set out.

At the third place at which Joan and Beth called, a pretty young mother answered the door as they rang the bell.

"We're here to ask if you have voted yet," Joan said politely.

"Well, no, I haven't. And I don't know whether I'll get to or not. My husband doesn't get home until late, and maybe I won't have time. He voted this morning on the way to work."

"Your vote is just as important as his," Beth said to her, smiling.

"Oh, yes, and I want to vote. But Donny, my little boy, is asleep and I can't leave him."

With a smile Joan said:

"I'm Joan Haskel and this is Beth Brown. We'll baby-sit for you if you care to go now. We promise to take good care of him and, anyway, it won't take you long."

"Oh, girls, I'd love to, and thanks so much." Then she added: "I can be ready in half an hour. Could you come back then?"

The girls went away for a while. Then they returned, and Donny's mother went out to cast her vote.

With Frank and Jerry it was a little different. They had made several calls and were checking off their lists when Max and Hendy rode up to them in a state of excitement.

"Say, kids, we've got a real problem," said Max. "We just talked to Cappy. He and Lew are over on Sixth Street. They stopped at a house where there are five old people all wanting to vote. None of them are really able to go out, but they all declare they're going. Two old ladies started out and one slipped and fell on the front step. Go on over and give them a hand. It's in the 300 block. We're going down and ask Mr. Simmons for help."

The two boys on bikes whizzed away. Frank and Jerry broke into a run. As they turned the corner they had no trouble finding the house, for they saw their two pals and the two women out in front.

The elderly woman seemed not hurt badly, but she had been shaken up. The others were clustered around, giving advice. Lew and Cappy were glad to see their two friends.

"Gosh, what determination!" said Cappy. "I told her we'd get a car, but before we go halfway down the block she had started out."

"I'm not a bit hurt, boys," the elderly woman said. "Just let me sit here a little bit. I'll be all right."

Her four companions joined her and soon the five old people and the four boys were having quite a visit as they waited for Max and Hendy.

They did not wait long. The two riders came up, followed by Mr. Simmons driving a car.

Soon the situation was well in hand, Mr. Simmons helped the five voters into the car, all very happy and proud to be able to get to the polls once more to exercise their right to cast their ballots.

It was dark when the boys and girls met as had been prearranged. It was a tired, excited bunch who sat around comparing notes in their club rooms. There was lots of laughter, too, because there had been many funny incidents, and each team vied with the others in telling of the interesting experiences of the afternoon.

"And," concluded Joan, as she got ready to go home to a belated supper, "the best part of all, we helped the good old American custom of getting out the vote!"



# Be Well Informed



The illustration shows a woman with dark, wavy hair looking down at a newspaper she is holding. The newspaper page is replaced by the cover of 'The American Federationist' magazine. The cover features the title 'The American FEDERATIONIST' in a stylized font, with 'TWENTY CENTS' printed above it. Below the title is a collage of images: a woman reading, a man writing, a miner with a pickaxe, and a group of people. The slogan 'LABOR IS PEOPLE' is written across the bottom of the collage. Above the magazine cover, the text 'TIMELY. IMPORTANT READING FOR ALL WHO WORK' is printed. The entire scene is set against a dark background.

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